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BIBLE - LANGUAGES

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*R. N. CUST.*

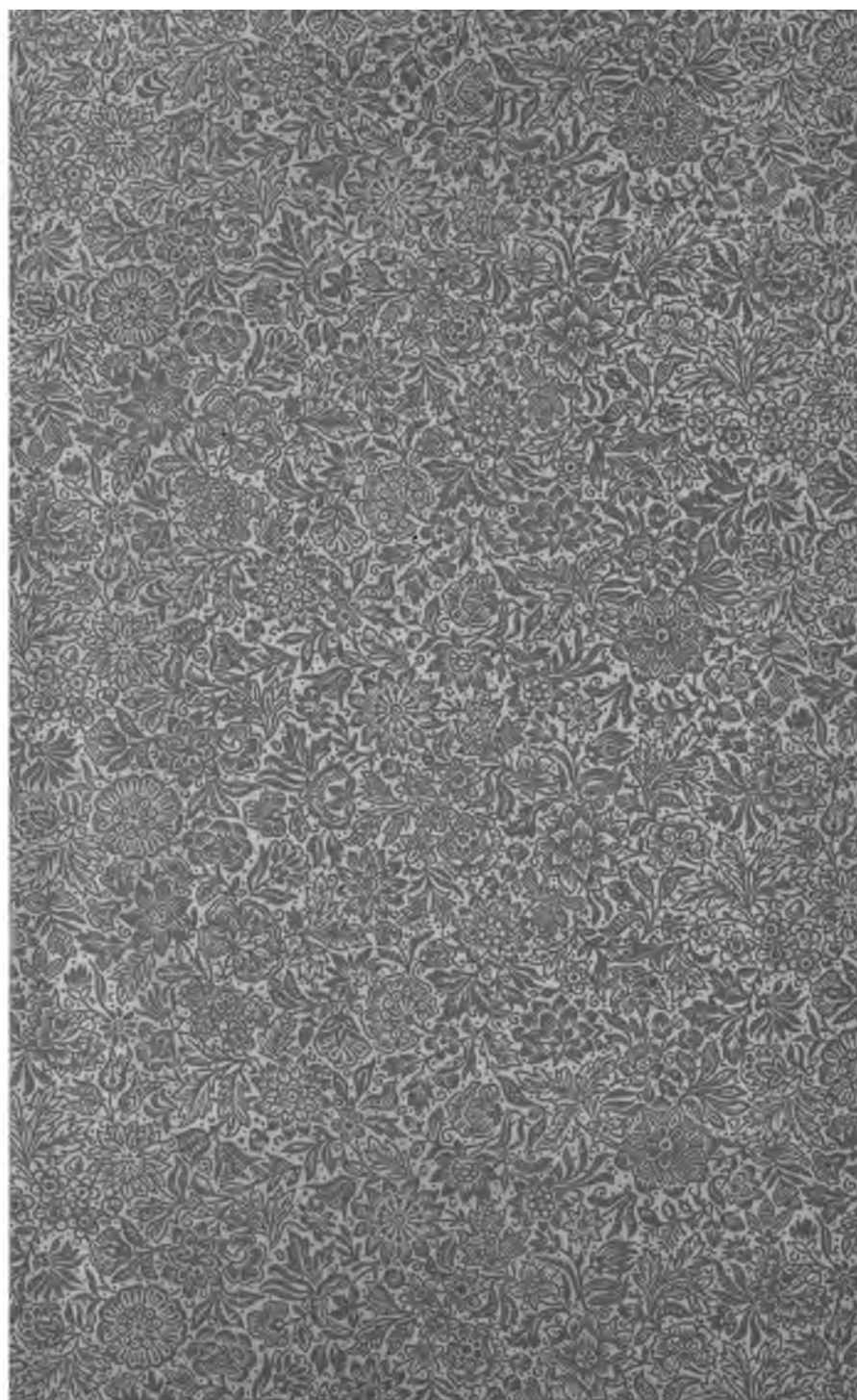
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**LANGUAGES OF THE BIBLE.**



ESSAYS  
ON  
THE LANGUAGES OF THE BIBLE  
AND  
BIBLE-TRANSLATIONS.

BY

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D.,

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OF THE URAL-ALTAIC FAMILY,  
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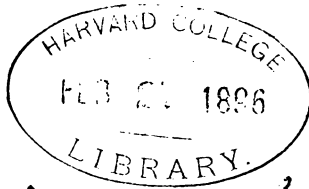
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## PREFACE.

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A few months ago I published *Three Lists of Bible-Translations Actually Accomplished* (Elliot Stock, 1890). By itself this book would be to some dry reading, consisting as it does merely of names and statistics: to others it would reveal the marvellous story of the Grace of God poured down in such fulness on this generation. Unquestionably it represents only a skeleton, which I propose in a series of *Essays* to clothe with a little flesh: this book is the first instalment. I may not live to carry out my plan to its final completeness: so I publish portions as they are ready.

First comes the consideration of the Languages, in which the inspired Books were written, and of the particular vehicle of human ideas honoured by the use of the Lord of Glory during his earthly Pilgrimage. I approach the subject quite simply, and fearlessly, as a Linguist, and not as a dogmatic Theologian: if wrong in my views, I shall be glad to be set right by those who are conversant with linguistic problems ancient and modern. I doubt whether the early Fathers, who lived several centuries after the Christian Era, and were divided from the Jewish world of ideas by an abyss of prejudice, and a narrow view of things in general, were in as good a position to form a judgment as the men of this generation. Their utterances also must not be taken literally. When Jerome writes, "*Sermone Græco, quo omnis Oriens loquitur,*" he meant no more than the expression of a modern writer, "All the world knows French." Jerome could have known very little of the

languages spoken in Asia and Africa, and must have forgotten the notice in the Acts of the languages of the strangers assembled in Jerusalem at the time of the Pentecost-Miracle, if he meant his words to be taken literally, either for his own epoch, or for that of our Lord's earthly sojourn.

I propose, if life and health be spared, to pass under review the different groups of Language-Translations, such as India, Africa, China, Oceania, North America, the Russian dominions, etc., etc., in the same manner that I have now dealt with the Latin and French translations. They offer subjects of extreme fascination, and the story of the translations of the Bible, and the conversions wrought by these translations has an evidential value all its own. Did any book ever appear in such a number of translations as this book? Did any book ever work such a marvellous effect upon nations, whether in the pride of their civilization, or in their unsophisticated simplicity, as this book? Nor is its Mission completed. It goes on like the Sun at mid-day : conquering, and to conquer.

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST.

LONDON, DECEMBER 18, 1890.

# CONTENTS.

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	PAGE
I. LANGUAGES OF THE BIBLE IN THREE CHAPTERS :	
1. THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY OUR LORD AND HIS APOSTLES	3
2. THE LANGUAGES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT .....	18
3. THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN AND WRITTEN BY THE EVANGELISTS, AND THE WRITERS OF THE ACTS, THE EPISTLES, AND THE REVELATION .....	26
II. TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE IN THREE CHAPTERS :	
1. THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES .....	45
2. LATIN TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE .....	61
3. FRENCH TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE .....	79



## I.

### THE LANGUAGES OF THE BIBLE.

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CHAPTER 1. THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY OUR LORD AND HIS APOSTLES.

CHAPTER 2. THE LANGUAGES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER 3. THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN AND WRITTEN BY THE EVANGELISTS, AND THE WRITERS OF THE ACTS, THE EPISTLES, AND THE REVELATION.

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#### CHAPTER I.—THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY OUR LORD AND HIS APOSTLES.

WHAT was the language spoken by our Lord? It was supposed that this question was settled, but in the pages of the *Guardian*, February, 1889, it has been re-opened. At the foot of the page<sup>1</sup> I notice the leading special treatises on the subject, but proceed to handle it independently. I regard the question as one of linguistic science, evidence, and careful analogy, free from all bias of theology, and excluding anything that is supernatural, or out of the ordinary current of human affairs. I am a sincere believer in the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, but not in a narrow sense.

In the Gospel of Luke we are told that the superscription on the Cross was in letters of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew. In the Gospel of John it is stated that it was written in Hebrew, Latin, Greek. The expressions are :

γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ Ῥωμαικοῖς καὶ Ἑβραϊκοῖς.  
γεγραμμένον Ἑβραϊστί, Ῥωμαιστί, Ἑλληνιστί.

It is fair to state, that the Revised Version of the New Testament rejects the words of Luke altogether, so the fact rests on

<sup>1</sup> 1. "The Language employed by our Lord and His Disciples," by Dr. ROBERTS. Second Edition, 1869.

2. Mgr. CLEMENT DAVID, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Damascus: "La langue parlée par Jésus Christ." 1885.

3. "Dialects of Palestine in the Time of Christ," by AD. NEUBAUER, of the Bodleian, Oxford. "Studia Biblica," 1885.

4. Professor CHEYNE. 'The Expositor,' 1889, pp. 238-40.



the evidence of John alone ; but he was an eye-witness. It would thus appear that the Hebrew style of writing came first, then the Roman, and lastly the Greek. This implies a threefold form of written characters, as well as of language. It may be taken as a fact, admitted beyond doubt, that the Hebrew language had long before been superseded in the mouths of men by the Aramaic vernacular. The chief priests objected to the wording of the superscription ; it was Pilate's own order, to which he adhered. The languages and characters were as follows :

- Line 1. Aramaic in the square Hebrew character lately introduced (*circa* 100 B.C.).  
 „ 2. Latin in the Roman capital letters, so well known.  
 „ 3. Greek in the uncial characters represented in the monumental inscriptions of the period, which are abundant.

Now, in one of these languages our Lord must have spoken : possibly, though not probably, in two, Aramaic and Greek ; and words belonging to the third language, Latin, are reported as having fallen from His mouth, *e.g.* “census,” “tribute-money,” etc. ; but the real question is betwixt Aramaic, a Semitic language of Asia, and Greek, an Arian language of European origin, but spoken extensively by Hellenists in Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Now, a judgment can only be formed on a question of this kind, the data of which go back to nearly two thousand years, and the venue of which is in a distant land, by a careful consideration of certain analogies, aided by a certain experience in linguistic phenomena. In Great Britain practically there is one paramount language, spoken by our rulers, the leading educated classes, and the common people. But there are few countries, where it is so ; and as a fact, within the islands of Great Britain there are four other vernaculars, Welsh, Gaelic, Erse, and French (the latter in the Channel Islands).

In the Baltic provinces in Europe, Russian is the dominant language of the rulers, German is the vernacular of the immigrant landowners and merchants, but the agriculturists and the indigenous inhabitants speak Liv of the Ugro-Altai family. In Algeria in Africa French is the dominant language of the rulers ; Arabic, a Semitic language, is not only the language of the immigrant superior classes, but the religious language ; but the indigenous inhabitants speak exclusively Kabáil or Tuwárik, Hamitic languages. In Asia, in the Central Provinces of British India, English is the dominant language of the rulers ; the superior immigrant classes speak Hindi, or Bangáli, of the Arian family, or Télugu, of the Dravidian family, while the indigenous inhabitants speak, according to their particular tribes, Gond, or Khond, or Maler, of the Dravidian family, or Sontál and Kol, of the Kolarian group.

In the Panjáb in Northern India, when we conquered it in 1846, I was one of the first British officers employed. An amnesty was proclaimed for all political offences; but, if I had had occasion to try a native for murder or violent crime, and he was sentenced to death by hanging, had it been necessary or desirable to do so, I could have placed a superscription over the gallows in three languages in three different written characters, as follows:

- Line 1. English in the Roman character of the day, the language of the rulers.
- „ 2. Persian in the running Arabic character, the language at that time of the Judicial Courts, and of all official correspondence.
- „ 3. Hindi in the Nágari character, the language of the mass of the people, and the only one understood by them.

And if the offender were a Sikh, and if there were numerous Sikhs in the neighbourhood, whom it was desirable to awe, a fourth language would possibly have been added:

- Line 4. Sikh or Panjábí in the Gúrmúkhi character, the language of the Sikh religionists, and the people of the villages.

Now, all these languages and characters I myself could read and understand, and give orders in, though in the three latter languages the orders would have to be engrossed by native writers, *embodying my meaning in their own words*, and reading them out to me before I signed them with my name in the ordinary English character; the official seal, in one, two, or three characters, was then stamped on the paper. This was the ordinary routine, and caused no great exertion or remarkable knowledge, and we thought nothing of it. But if in conversation in a good-sized village or small town like Nazareth (which I have twice visited), with the shopkeepers, or artisans, carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, I had addressed them in English or Persian, they would have understood nothing; yet Persian had been the dominant language of the Panjáb, and, until the arrival of the British, the sole vehicle of literature and correspondence for more than seven hundred years. A long residence in the midst of a mixed population, such as the one described, generates a kind of sympathetic intelligence, for one has to talk down to the level of each particular person: an educated person, or a villager, who would like to be addressed in patois; a Hindu or a Mahometan; a mountaineer or a religious devotee. The vocal chord has to be tuned to be acceptable and intelligible to each ear. To a chief, who came across the river Indus to visit me, I should speak Persian; to my own countrymen and English-speaking clerks, English; to the educated people, Hindustani; to the rough villagers or mountaineers, their patois; to the learned priests, pure Hindi. The population amounts to seventeen millions, and is far more

enlightened than similar classes in Palestine, either in the present or past centuries. There are magnificent walled towns, great wealth of commerce and manufactures, highly developed agriculture, a constant stream of foreigners passing to and fro, and yet I repeat that the dominant language of culture, either of the Mahometan or Christian rulers, was totally unknown to the portion of the population analogous to the class, out of which our blessed Lord appeared in the flesh. A Chinese Missionary thus describes his own linguistic environment: "I have experience of a multi-lingual state of things, reading in two forms of written character, and two or more distinct styles, *speaking* in two distinct languages, and *understanding* utterances in four or five dialects." It is an extraordinary mistake to suppose, that the domination of foreigners or strangers alters the vernacular of the people; we can learn this from the domestic history of Russia and Austria, in each of which twenty languages at least are spoken; and of France and Great Britain, in each of which five languages are spoken, in spite of the overweening influence of French and English literature. I have brought these considerations conspicuously forward in front of my argument, so as to prepare my reader for the appreciation of the arguments to be adduced by writers, who clearly have never had experience of the phenomena presented.

In all humility I venture to express an opinion on this great subject. I have carefully examined the works of late writers, such as Alford, Wordsworth, Westcott, and Farrar. They all seem to avoid the great difficulty: admitting that our Lord and His twelve Apostles spoke Aramaic *only* (for I cannot admit the hypothesis of their being capable of addressing a multitude in two languages at pleasure), how did it come about that the records of His life and teaching have exclusively come down to us in Greek? It does not follow that no contemporary records in Aramaic ever existed, and most probably, or perhaps most certainly, they did exist, but none have come down to us. Of all other religious teachers, the sages of the Veda, Buddha, Kabir, Baba Nanak, the Jain teachers, Confucius and Mahomet, we have their dicta in the words which they uttered. Bishop Wordsworth sadly records his convictions: "In strictness of speech, not one of the Evangelists gives us the exact words of Christ: *He conversed in Syro-Chaldaic; they wrote in Greek.*" Some go so far as to say that the Greek fails to convey the entire spirit of the words of the Lord, which can be found only in the Peshito Syriac, which to the Aramaic was cognate, while the translation from the Greek was nearly contemporary. My only qualification for intruding on this subject is that, having just completed a survey of the languages of the world, I have some familiarity with linguistic phenomena, and for a quarter of a century in Northern India I conducted important business daily in three or four languages at the same time.

It is true that Jerome writes: "Sermone Græco, quo omnis Oriens loquitur." My only reply is that Jerome must have made a mistake. If such had been the case, what possible occasion could there have been for a Pentecostal miracle, whatever interpretation is accepted of that great event? We know as a positive fact that all prophets, and teachers, and reformers, and inaugurators of new religions, have made sole use of the vernacular of the people whom they addressed, and made this an article of their faith, and a necessity of their practice. Our missionary experience of modern times convinces us, that the only way to get at people's hearts is through the vulgar tongue, spoken by the women, children, and least-educated persons of the community.

Now, if, for argument's sake, we admitted, that our Lord and His Apostles had acquired a power of speaking Greek, and the educated men could understand His words, no one, who knows anything of Oriental women, would dare to say that such a phenomenon existed as "bilingual" women, and yet the women were as deeply converted by our Lord as the men. Then it is clear, that our Lord possessed the power of writing, as it is recorded that He stooped down and wrote with His finger on the ground. The written characters of the Aramaic and Greek languages are essentially different, though they have both descended from the old Phœnician; but our Lord clearly indicated the written character, of which He had cognizance, by the remark, that not one jot or one tittle of the Law would pass away, which applies accurately to the square Hebrew alphabet, which was in use at that time, but not to the uncial letters of the Greek alphabet, used in the current copies of the Septuagint. These letters exhibit none of the varieties of shape so common to the Hebrew; there are neither vowel-accent nor diacritical points, as any one, who places a leaf of the Hebrew Old Testament side by side with a photograph of the Sinaitic, Vatican, or Alexandrine texts, can satisfy himself.

The strange assertion has been made, that the Greek language would be adopted willingly by conquered people, because it is so beautiful and powerful. This idea exposes a strange misconception of the *raison d'être* of the two thousand forms of speech, mutually unintelligible, spoken at this moment in the world. It may be questioned, whether Greek is more beautiful than other languages; it is certainly much more complicated by grammatical rules than English, and the great army of non-Arian languages which, like English, are free from the bondage of inflections; yet who would venture to say that in any village or market-town of the great Province of Banáras, which has been under British rule for more than a century, he would find any one, except by a mere chance, who spoke a word of English, in spite of a free press, State-schools, missionaries, courts of law, and men of commerce? The distribution

of the Bible and of missionary tracts is exclusively in the vernacular of each province. English printed matter would be useless.

I must decline to admit in this argument any miracle not recorded in Scripture. Modern criticism of the ordinary operations of man can no longer be silenced by the unwarranted assertion of verbal inspiration. The writers and speakers in the Bible were not impersonal machines; but, as Paul said at Lystra, "men of like passions as their hearers." One clergyman consulted by me suggested that the power of the two Galilean fishermen, Peter and John, to write Greek epistles was part of the Pentecostal miracle. My reply was that that miracle related to the power of uttering sound with the tongue (*γλώσσα*), not to the power of recording thoughts on writing materials with the fingers (*δακτύλοι*). It appears to me that all the phenomena incidental to the purely human contingencies of the human art of writing must be expected, as each step is purely human, the outcome of the effort of man, under the influence, indeed, of spiritual aspirations in the same way as men and women are influenced now. The Holy Spirit speaks to our hearts, not to our tongues and hands.

I wish to clear away some misconceptions which seem to make a difficult subject more difficult. It is a mistake to suppose that the Roman soldiers in such provinces as Syria were "Romans of Italy" in the strict sense, any more than the Sepoys of the army in British India are Britons. There is, however, a fair presumption that Cornelius, the first Gentile convert, was an Italian, as he dwelt in Cæsarea, which was simply a Roman fortress on the sea-shore, as its ruins testify to this day: his band or Regiment is called the Italian, and there can be little doubt that like Gibraltar this fortress was occupied by a force composed of soldiers of the Ruling Nation; and we have to ponder by what means Peter communicated with him, and in what language. A captain of the Queen's army knows as little of Persian and Hindustani as Cornelius presumably did of Greek and Aramaic. We have to imagine an Indian or Chinese catechist trying to communicate ideas on the most solemn subject to British officers stationed at Hong Kong or Calcutta. Our Lord is reported to have uttered a certain number of Aramaic words, and, in fact, no less than twenty-nine words, or brief sentences, of Semitic origin are found in the New Testament, and even in the Revelation the words "Hallelu Jah" are retained. The retention of these words may be quoted both for and against the Greek language theory. Some maintain that they were the words of the ordinary language of our Lord; and others, with great show of justice, urge that they were quoted because they were exceptional. It is impossible to say why some of our Lord's utterances are given in Aramaic, and some in Greek: ingenious suggestions have been made, but none are satisfactory: even in His last moments on the Cross we might have expected that the words

to John and His Mother would have been reported at least by John in the very words, and that the last words, "it is finished," would have been recorded as they were uttered: but such is not the case. Again, on one hand Paul says distinctly that our Lord spoke to him on the road to Damascus in the Hebrew language; on the other hand, John heard Him in the Vision of the Revelation calling Himself Alpha and Omega, which apply solely to the Greek language, although the phrase "Aleph to Thau" appears in Hebrew books as a proverbial expression for the "First and the Last."

To both the Apostles was manifested a vision of the Risen Saviour. A Divine Voice was heard by them alone, and the human rendering of that voice was impressed on their perception in the language, with which they were at the time familiar. To take the analogy of dreams, how often we hear friends speaking other languages than our own, and ourselves replying in them, if we are in the habit of using those languages in our waking hours. As time went on, the legends at Rome pretended, that our Lord appeared to Peter and addressed him in Latin. The humble Christian may indeed believe, that the Holy Spirit speaks to each believer in words *that are comprehended*, but only clothed in human vocables, when their purport is recounted as an experience to others. The Spirit speaks to the heart of each one of us, but we should hardly presume to say that the words of the Spirit were English.

We know as a fact, that no Palestinian Jew during the existence of the second Temple produced a book in the Greek language. The original of such of the Apocryphal books as were written in Palestine was not in Greek. Aramaic translations of the Old Testament, or Targams, were used in Palestine. Josephus remarks, that the things told by the Jews, who surrendered in the siege of Jerusalem, *only he understood*. Many knew Greek in the Roman Camp, but the Jews spoke Aramaic. St. Paul no doubt could speak Greek, but the captain of the guard of the Temple was surprised, that he was able to do so, because he took him for an Egyptian. Now, an Egyptian was just as open to Hellenic influence as a Syrian or a Cilician, upon the theory that the conquest of Alexander and the rule of his successors had altered the vernacular of the provinces of Western Asia; but Paul is described as addressing the Sanhedrin in Aramaic (*ἐν Ἑβραϊδι διαλέκτῳ*), and these were not the Jews of the villages, but of the capital city, the very classes who, if any parties of the community understood Greek, could have understood it. Moreover, when they heard that he spoke in the Hebrew, *i. e.* Aramaic, tongue, they maintained greater quiet: this implies two facts: (1) that they could have understood Greek, if Paul had spoken in that tongue; (2) that their proper and national language was Aramaic, and they preferred it. If the introduction of military garrisons into a country

leads to an alteration of the vernacular, Latin influence ought to have been felt, which is not pretended. In fact, the Jews of Palestine had in them a religious element, which made the retention of their language a necessity, a pride, and a Palladium. Syria may possibly have been Hellenized and Arianized, and Egypt no doubt felt the influence also; but Judea resisted the process to the last, and Jerusalem perished as the centre of a Hebrew polity, and speaking a Semitic language. If under the rule of the Antiochi there had been any taint of Hellenism, the revolt of the Maccabees would have effaced it. The legends on coins do not go far as evidence to prove a vernacular, as the rupee of British India has an English superscription totally unintelligible to the people who use the coin. The names of places, if of great antiquity, give valuable traces of extinct languages, but modern names of places are of doubtful value. In Palestine, Cæsarea, Dekapolis, or Tiberias, tell the tale of foreign conquest, just as Alexandria in Egypt, and Victoria all over the world, Abbotabad, Canningtown and Barrackpur in British India; but they have not the faintest evidential value of the language spoken by the residents of these towns or districts. When however we are told by St. Luke (Acts i. 19) that the people of Jerusalem called the Potter's field in their proper tongue "Hakal dama," "Aceldama," we learn two facts, (1) that the people spoke Aramaic, (2) that he did *not*, for he translates it into Greek.

There was, indeed, a large section of the Jewish nation, who were Hellenized and knew the Greek language, and adopted some of the Greek customs, and there may have been a Judeo-Greek colony in Jerusalem. But the majority of the Hellenists lived in foreign lands, coming to Judea from time to time for the feasts. The translation known as the Septuagint had done a great work in extending a knowledge of the great tenets of Judaism to the heathen world. But it had done something more. It had appropriated the Greek language for the expression of Hebrew thought, adapting the most exact machinery of word-formation to the most spiritual mode of conception. Something of the same kind has been done for the stored-up intellectual wealth of the Hindu by the touch of the English language. The position of Palestine geographically was most remarkable. It was just at the point, where the Semitic world of Asia, the Hamitic world of Africa, and the so-called Arian world of Europe, came into contact. The coasts of Asia Minor and North Africa were fringed with Greek colonies, and the Archipelago was studded with them. Some of the Gods of the Greek Idea had sprung from these islands. Greece had to thank Phœnicia for its alphabet, the same that was used by the Hebrews from its earliest days. But admitting all this *rapprochement* between the two races, there is no more reason to suppose, that the villagers of Samaria and Galilee spoke Greek

than that the inhabitants of the Greek islands, in which clusters of Jews had settled, spoke Aramaic. Our Lord's parables, illustrations, and eschatological conceptions, were thoroughly Hebrew and Asiatic. His *human* knowledge did not extend beyond His native Province. As regards the Septuagint, there is reason to believe, that it was unknown in Palestine except to scholars and Hellenist settlers, and it does not follow, because the Evangelists in their record of the events of our Lord's life more or less accurately quote the Septuagint, that our Lord Himself quoted it. Moreover, all the quotations in the Gospel may probably have been quoted from traditional (possibly written, possibly unwritten) Targams, current at the time, the translation of which into Greek by the Evangelists has caused the literal divergence of expression.

How came it, then, that from the very earliest days this Semitic religion, orally pronounced in Aramaic, has come down to us, without any exception, entirely in Greek documents? The reason is, simply, that it was the Divine will, that it should spread westward to the people of Europe, and be thence handed on to the rest of the World. The early Church was essentially a Greek Church; all the early Fathers wrote in Greek. Imperial Rome was in some respects a Greek city, and Greek was the alternative language; the poorer classes, the "illuvies gentium," the "Græculus esuriens," were Greeks in descent, culture, and speech. It might have been different: Paul of Tarsus was the selected agent to guide the spread of the new Idea; had he been a Syrian of Edessa, or a Mesopotamian of Babylon, or an Elamite from Susa, or a Mede from Ekbatana, or a Parthian from the Caspian (and all these nations were represented on the day of Pentecost), the Light to lighten the Gentiles, that sprang up in Galilee, might have flashed eastward, and the good tidings have remained in an Asiatic mould and language. The Jews had had constant relations in past centuries with Assyria, and Babylonia, and Persia, all of which were mentioned in their sacred books, but little or nothing with Greece and Italy. But Saul of Tarsus, a Roman citizen, a Greek scholar, a Hellenized Jew, was the chosen vessel to bear the Lord's name before the Gentiles; he called himself a Hebrew of the Hebrews on account of his zeal for the law, but there was a great gulf between him and the Hebrews of Jerusalem, such as James and Jude. Nobody, who studies the Epistles, can doubt this; and his great personality and gifts, and his environment, settled once for all, that Jesus should be known as "Christ," not as "Messiah," and His followers not as "Messihi," but "Christians." One of the leading features of the new tenets was, that they were to be understood by the people, that the poor should have the Gospel preached. This necessity led to the Greek language being the first vehicle of communication,



to be followed speedily by the Syriac, Latin, Coptic, Gothic, Abyssinian, and eventually by every language of the World. Two linguistic considerations suggest themselves here: one is the singular mode, in which two at least of the sacred terms of the Jewish religion are Grecized, instead of being reserved in their Semitic form, as so many words, or even phrases, have been, *e.g.* Hallelujah and Pascha. I allude to the word *κίβωτος*, used for the Ark of the Covenant in the Revelation, and the word *περιτόμη* and *ἀκροβύστια* for circumcision and the contrary. By Mahometans this old-world custom, so offensive to modern notions, is veiled by the euphemism of "sunnat" and "bi-sunnat," which means no more than a religious ceremony. The second consideration is, that it seems to persons unaccustomed to such phenomena impossible, that the Heads of a Church should persistently address the laity (women and men) in a language, which they cannot possibly understand, till explained to them in the vernacular by the priests. And yet such is the practice to this day of the Church of Rome, and in 1888 a Latin letter, forbidding boycotting, was read in the Roman Catholic chapels in Ireland. One of the chief arguments brought forward to prove that the humbler classes of Palestine spoke and understood Greek, is that the Gospels and Epistles are in Greek. We can only suppose that the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians, who spoke a Keltic language, and not Greek, was translated to the humbler members of the Church, in the same way as the Keltic Irish were made to understand the Pope's Latin epistle.

Another argument brought forward to support the theory of our Lord and His hearers using the Greek language is based on the fact, that so many conversations are given, as well as addresses, which appear to be fresh, and not translations. In the history of Thucydides nothing is so remarkable as the set speeches, which he places in the mouths of his characters; no one could charge him as a dishonest fabricator. But these speeches are, in fact, as regards form, his own essays based on the rules of rhetoric of his age, and as regards *matter* they are so far dramatic, that the sentiments are such as he conceived to be suitable to the supposed speaker, and his readers have in all times accepted this as such. Be it far from me to assert, that the writers of the Old and New Testament took such a license as this, but it is the custom of the East to write in the ordinary familiar style, as if they were speaking; the lower classes in Europe do the same to this day. Educated people use the *oblique* sentence to express what they see or hear, but Orientals repeat a conversation, as if they were standing behind the curtain, or sitting at a shorthand reporter's table. We are told what Abraham said to Isaac, when they were quite alone, and the very words of Abraham's conversation with the Creator are recorded. We are told what Herod said in his private chamber,

and the remarks of other persons about John the Baptist having come to life. The conversation of evil spirits is given *totidem verbis*. This is only the style of writing of the nation and the age. The truthfulness of the narrative is not impugned, but the ordinary inference as regards the particular language used cannot be inferred. When King Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylonia, and King Darius, a Mede, spoke to Daniel, though the very words uttered by them are repeated in Hebrew, as if the reporter had heard them, it must not be presumed that these two Kings spoke the Hebrew language. When our Lord conversed with the Syro-Phœnician woman or the ten lepers, or the maniac in the country of the Gadarenes, it is unreasonable to argue that He spoke Greek, because *bond-fide* Greek sentences are placed in His mouth by the compiler of the Gospel.

Let us approach with reverence the account of our Lord's temptation: there was no human witness to the interview of our Lord with Satan: it is noteworthy that at least one-half of the words uttered were quotations from the Old Testament: it must be presumed that our Lord informed His Apostles of what had happened: Matthew, who alone records the utterances of our Lord and of Satan, was not at the time an Apostle: he was not called till some time after. Are we to believe that our Lord and Satan quoted the Septuagint, or the inspired Hebrew text? Can we believe that they spoke Greek?

The Aramaic language has been alluded to; the question naturally arises, What is that language? It is sometimes called Judeo-Aramean, in contradistinction to the Syriac or Christian Aramean. There were three dialects in the time of our Lord: 1, Judæan; 2, Samaritan; 3, Galilean; the peculiarities of the latter betrayed the country to which Peter belonged. It was different from, yet cognate with, Hebrew. It is sometimes called Syro-Chaldaic, indicating that it was the vernacular of the region on both sides of the Euphrates, from Lebanon to the river Tigris. East Aramaic would be Chaldaic, and west Aramaic would be Syriac. It is stated by one scholar, and a very competent one, that another vernacular was also concurrently used, a modernized Hebrew, specimens of which we find in the Mishnah, and the Hebrew parts of the Talmud and Midrâshim. In one or other of these variations of speech the Hebrew nation spoke after their return from captivity. There were, moreover, written Targams of parts of the Old Testament in this vernacular, from which in all probability our Lord quoted, and this may account for the diversity in the renderings. His quotation from Psalm xxii. on the Cross has been preserved. The reading of the sacred text was necessarily accompanied by a vernacular paraphrase, oral indeed, but cast in a conventional mould handed down from father to son. The introduction of such paraphrases dates as far back as the time of Ezra, and there is

reason to believe, that *written* translations existed as early as the first century before Christ. When our Lord, in the synagogue at Nazareth, read the verses from Isaiah, he probably used such a translation. It may have been possible that our Lord, and His Apostles read the text in Hebrew, and then explained, but it is more probable that he used an Aramaic Targam. The written character used may, upon independent palæographical grounds, be safely determined as the square Hebrew character, called "Hebrew," which had about one century before Christ superseded the old Phœnician character, specimens of which last survive in stone monuments, and the pages of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

I add a few lines on the subject of these Targams :

In Nehemiah viii. 8, we find, "So they read in the book in the Law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the meaning." The Speaker's Commentary says timidly : "either by rendering the Hebrew into the Aramaic language, or perhaps simply by explaining obscure words or passages."

Emanuel Deutsch writes with justice : "There was one thing wanting to Ezra, when he tried to found a lasting Commonwealth on the ruins of Zion, which neither authority, nor piety, nor School, nor Synagogue, could restore to its original power and glory,

‘The Hebrew Language.’

"So it became necessary to translate the National Books, in order that the Nation, from whose midst they had sprung, might be able to understand them : if for the Jews in Alexandria a Greek translation was required, an Aramaic Targam was required for those in Judea. To Ezra himself is traced the custom of adding translations to the Aramaic on the occasion of the weekly readings of the Scriptures in the Synagogue. Those, who came back from exile, brought the Aramaic with them, with which they had become familiar in Babylon : all the decrees issued by the Kings of Persia, quoted in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, must have been either in Persian, or Aramaic : to the translation was added an explanation, and both were included in the word Targam."

One thing is clear, that the common folk, who had been born in Babylon, were entirely and grossly ignorant of the Law at the time of their return from the Captivity ; and of the language of the Law.

Deutsch further states : "If the common people had thus gradually lost all knowledge of the language, in which were written the books to be read to them, it naturally followed (in order that they might understand them) that recourse must be had to a translation into the language, with which they were familiar, the Aramaic."

A translation could not in all cases suffice, so it was necessary to add an explanation of the difficult and obscure passages. Both Translation and Explanation were designated by the term "Targam," and there sprang up a guild, whose special office was to act as translators or interpreters or both: they were called Metargamin. The Talmud prescribed that this official was not to use a written Targam, but to deliver his translation *vivâ voce*, that it might appear that he was reading out of the Torah itself, and that the Scripture might be responsible for what were his dicta.

The word Targam still survives in Persia and India as the well-known "Tarjama" or translation, and the word Metargamin also survives in the well-known "Dragoman" of the East.

Those who are hardy enough to assert that because the text of the Synoptic Gospels is in Greek, therefore all the actors of the events recorded therein must have *spoken* Greek, either solely or bilingually, and that all the utterances of our Lord are recorded with the accuracy of *ipsisima verba*, had better reflect to what conclusions that theory would lead them, if applied to the Old Testament narrative. We are so habituated to use the Bible in the English translation, that we sometimes forget, and still oftener have failed to realize, that both the Old and New Testament texts, in the form in which they have come down to us, comprise narratives of conversations, which took place in totally different languages: for instance, the words uttered by Potiphar's wife, by the Chief Butler when he addressed Pharaoh, by Balaam and Balak, and by the Queen of Sheba. It is obvious, that none of these Scripture-personages could have spoken in Hebrew, and yet the uninstructed reader might suppose, that it was so, as the very words, which they are supposed to have uttered, are recorded, as if they had been written down by a bystander.

It must be admitted, that we are at a disadvantage. The last verse of John presses home the fact, which can be proved by careful comparison of the four Gospels, that during twelve-thirteenths of the Ministry His words and deeds are *not* recorded; and, when the question of the language which he spoke from his tender years up to his death, is discussed, we feel a great want of evidence. He began His Ministry at the age of 30, and it lasted at the most four years. It will scarcely be asserted, that when at the age of twelve he sat in the midst of the Doctors in the Temple, hearing, and asking questions, He spoke Greek. No other event is recorded till he began His Ministry. We hardly realize how little of the story of our Lord in these four years we know: about 15 months includes the whole period traversed by the Synoptists. All the Evangelists are sometimes very diffuse, writing every detail like Newspaper-Reporters, but they leave long periods totally unnoticed. The day in the corn-field, Matt. xii. 1, occupies one-tenth of that Gospel: the Sermon on the Mount one-eighth:

a day in the Temple, Matt. xviii. occupies one-fifth: and the day of the blighted fig-tree occupies one-seventh of Mark's Gospel. In Luke xx. five days occupy one-fourth of the Gospel. In the Gospel of John this feature is still more marked; Chapters xiv. to xvii. occupy a few hours only of the Ministry.

The linguistic history of the Old Testament is a study of extreme fascination. We have nothing to compare with it in the World. I shall discuss it in a separate chapter, as it has an important bearing on the question of the language of the New Testament, for the Aramaic spoken by our Lord was, if not the *same*, at least a *similar* form of speech to that which was spoken by the "Syrian (Arami)," who, 1921 years earlier, had crossed the Euphrates, and "who rejoiced to see His day." It died away from the lips of men when Jerusalem fell, for the Nation, who spoke it, had completed the task which it was given to do two thousand years before.

This, then, is the language in which, in the opinion of the most judicious scholars and sound theologians, words were uttered by Him who spake as no man spake, words which turned the world upside down, closing the long catena of past expectations, opening out the vista of a heavenly future. With the exception of the few words scattered through the Gospels, or in the Epistles and the Revelation, above alluded to, no word has come down to us in that particular variety of Semitic speech. We can approach to it in reading the Samaritan Pentateuch, which has survived, and the Mishnah and Midrashim; but for some Divine purpose this language, in which the new Idea was given birth to, has, like the phoenix, utterly perished, while the lives of so many other languages have been prolonged: the Greek, Arabic, and Persian, to be the vehicles of modern thought, and the Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, and Ethiopic, to be the earthen vessels of dead rituals, though of great value in the infancy of the new Faith. The Hebrew language, indeed, died, leaving the one imperishable evidence of its existence in the Old Testament; at the best it was but an inferior vehicle of speech. A kind of survival of it exists in the Judeo-German and Judeo-Spanish jargons, in which the basis of the language is Arian with Hebrew phrases inserted. It is fortunate for the World that Greek was chosen for the task allotted to it, for as a written language it can never die, and as a vernacular it seems to be receiving new strength, for I heard it spoken at Athens in a style approaching its ancient purity.

No language has had such a history. If any one asks, What is the Aramaic language? let him be told, that it is the language, in which the Lord of Life made known to man the way of Salvation; in which He gave us our daily prayer; in which He instituted the Lord's Supper, and with His Apostles sang a hymn (the Hallel from a Targam) before He went down to Gethsémané; it is the

language in which some of the inhabitants of Jerusalem shouted "Hosannah!" and others "Crucify Him!" in which He spoke to His Mother and the women who met Him in the Via Dolorosa; in which He spoke His last word to His Mother and John, while hanging on the Cross; in which He spoke to the women who came early to His sepulchre on Easter-morn; in which He expounded to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus all the Scriptures concerning Himself, beginning at Moses and all the prophets; in which He gave His last commands on Mount Olivet; in which He spoke to Paul after His Ascension; in which, as we read in the Revelation, on the sea of glass is sung the song of Moses and the Lamb.

LIST OF ARAMAIC WORDS, WHICH OCCUR IN THE NEW TESTAMENT  
IN A GREEK FORM.

1. Φαρισα-ῖος.	17. ἄββά.
2. Σατανᾶ-ς.	18. σικερα.
3. Σαδδουκαῖος.	19. Κηφα-ς.
4. ῥακά.	20. Μεσσία-ς.
5. γέεννα.	21. βηθσεδά.
6. μαμμωνᾶ.	22. Ἄκελ δάμα.
7. Βεελ-ζεβούλ.	23. Ταβιθά.
8. Ωσαννά.	24. Ἄβαδδών.
9. ῥαββί.	25. Ἄρ-μαγεδών.
10. πάσχα.	26. Ἴηλι Ἴηλι λαμὰ σαβαχθανί. Or Ἴελωί, etc.
11. γολγοθά.	27. Ταλιθά κουμι.
12. Βοανεργές.	28. Ἄλληλοῦ-ῖα.
13. κορβάν.	29. Μαράν-ἀθά.
14. κορβανᾶν.	30. Ἄμῆν.
15. ἐφφαθά.	31. γάββαθα.
16. ραββουνί.	

Add to these proper names, specially those compounded of the word "bar," or son.

LIST OF SOME OF THE LATIN WORDS WHICH OCCUR IN THE NEW  
TESTAMENT IN A GREEK FORM.

Sicarius.	Gaza.	Titus.
Prætorium.	Libertinus.	Aquila.
Membrana.	Sudarium.	Priscilla.
Census.	Legio.	Cornelius.
Cæsar.	Speculator.	Festus.
Augustus.	Custodium.	Pontius Pilatus.
Christianus.	Paulus.	Felix.
Colonia.	Marcus.	Denarius.
Niger.		

## CHAPTER II.—THE LANGUAGES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Before discussing the languages *written* by the Apostles and the Evangelists, which will form Chapter III. of this series, it will help the reader, desirous to obtain a full grasp of the subject, if we cast a glance back on the annals of the Hebrew and Aramaic languages, and mark the contact, which Abraham and his descendants had with individuals and nations speaking other languages. It is one of the most remarkable evidences of the *absolute* truthfulness and genuineness of the Old Testament Record, that no modern philological or palæographical discovery shakes the credibility of the record, if erroneous conceptions, based upon imperfect knowledge of linguistic phenomena, are removed, and the subject is regarded in the same spirit, and from the same point of view, that other records of antiquity are examined. The reader must bear in mind that I write, not as a theologian (for which I have no capacity), but as a linguist. I accept, as an undoubted fact, the inspiration of the contents of the books of the Old Testament, but my remarks apply solely to the linguistic vehicle of words and sentences, and forms of written character.

A Syrian (Abraham), 1921 B.C., crossed from Mesopotamia into the land of Canaan. He spoke Aramaic; he came into contact with kindred Semitic tribes, who inhabited the land. He was aged seventy, and not likely to change his language; he was accompanied by his wife Sara and his brother's son, and the large number of upwards of 300 purchased, or home-bred, slaves. He went down into Egypt, at that time ruled over by a powerful dynasty, and the existing documents of stone and papyri certify, that the language was totally different from Hebrew or Aramaic, being Hamitic. Pharaoh is described as conversing with Abraham, presumably through interpreters, unless this Pharaoh was one of the Hyksos Dynasty, who are presumed to have been Semites; the words of the conversation are given in Hebrew. Canaan was invaded by Chederlaomer, who spoke a totally different and Altaic language; but no conversations are recorded. In Melchisedek we have a Semite beyond doubt, as, if any one wished to express the idea of a King of Righteousness, he would use those very words to this day in Arabia, Persia, and India. The King of Sodom conversed with Abraham; we may presume that he also was a Semite. Hagar was an Egyptian girl, who had probably accompanied Sara from Egypt, and adopted the language of her mistress, but her son Ishmael married an Egyptian, and used some early form of the Arabic language, which his descendants speak to this day. Rebecca came to Isaac from Aram, speaking the language of her country. Their son Jacob, at the age of seventy-seven, went across the Euphrates, and married four Aramean wives, and his father-in-law and he himself are described as "the Syrian."

The language had even then differentiated, for when Jacob and Laban raised a heap of stones, Laban called it *Jegar-sahadutha*, and Jacob "Galid." The word used by Laban for "witness" is still used in a kindred form in Persia, and India, and Arabia, "shahid," as a "witness and a martyr to the faith." The whole of Jacob's large family must have spoken the language of their respective mothers, when they returned to Canaan, and with the exception of Joseph they must have found wives among the people of the land. The Hebrew language thus began to form itself. The Ishmaelites from Gilead, to whom the sons of Jacob sold Joseph, were, if descendants of Ishmael, their own first cousins. They are called also Midianites, but if descendants of Keturah, they stood in the same relationship, and probably spoke mutually intelligible languages. But Joseph, when he arrived in Egypt, had to learn an entirely new language, and he did so, for it is particularly mentioned, that he spoke to his brethren through an interpreter. He had married an Egyptian wife, and his children were certainly bilingual. The descendants of Jacob dwelt a long time in Egypt, and during that period, free from all Aramaic influences, and singularly free from Egyptian taint, the Hebrew language acquired the form, which is known to us. Still, they must have acquired some knowledge of Egyptian, as at any rate they could understand the orders of their taskmasters, and they were able to borrow gold and silver and raiment from their Egyptian neighbours.

It is admitted that we are left in the utmost uncertainty on this subject, and in the absence of documents must resign ourselves to give up all hopes of ever arriving at more than vague theories as to the origin of the Hebrew language: it is noteworthy that the language is never called in the Old Testament "Ibri," but the language of "Canaan," and "Jehudiah" or "Jew," in contradiction to Aramaic. Upon the above facts it came into existence in Egypt before 1500 B.C., and died in Babylon one thousand years later.

Moses was brought up in Pharaoh's daughter's house, as her son, and an Egyptian. He was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians; if he had picked up Hebrew from his nurse, it was his second, or alternative, language. At the age of forty he fled to Arabia, and was introduced to Jethro, as an Egyptian, probably from the style of his dress, or his language. He spent forty years in the desert, speaking the language of the Midianites. The Kenites were a band of people of Midian, and therefore descendants of Abraham, and spoke probably a Semitic language, but we know not what it was; Moses was able to understand them. At the age of eighty he led the Hebrews out of Egypt, 1491 B.C., and, for the first time in his life, lived in familiar intercourse with his relations, using the Hebrew language. Forty years more he spent in the



desert in their midst, having his wife and her relatives with him : his children must have been bilingual, while he himself was trilingual. In his old age he married a Cushite (Ethiopian) woman, who must have spoken a Hamitic language, akin to Egyptian. A few words, and some proper names, in Exodus record his knowledge of the Egyptian language. But he was chosen to be the historian of his people, and must have collected the traditions, and teleodth, of his ancestors from the graybeards and recorded them in the language *then* used by the Hebrew people. The grave question now arises, What written character did he use? The Hieroglyphic and Hieratic characters were both in existence, and must have been known to Moses, who was a learned man ; on the other hand, no allusion to the art of writing occurs in the Book of Genesis. In Exodus xxxiii. 32, occur the words : " Blot me out of thy book which thou hast written." This incidental expression implies that Moses could write, that he knew what a book was, and that the art of writing was so too, familiar, that the phrase could be used allegorically. We find the consonants KTB applied to the writing then, and they have the same meaning in Arabia, Persia, and India to this day. The oldest surviving, or at least discovered, record of the Phœnician alphabet, which was the one used by the Hebrews, dates 900 B.C., or 600 after the Exodus. There is little doubt, that the Phœnicians derived their famous alphabet, the mother of all the alphabets in the world, from the Hieratic ideograms of Egypt ; but with our present limited information we cannot explain, how Moses, with his antecedents of forty years in Egypt, and forty in the desert, became acquainted with it. No document of stone or papyri, so abundant in Egypt, has survived, or at least has been found as evidence. It is most unfortunate, that, while the surrounding nations, Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt, the Moabites, the Phœnicians, and the Hittites, have all left stone inscriptions, the Hebrews were at no period of their history a monumental people. It need scarcely be said, that all manuscripts have perished : the oldest Hebrew MS. in existence is not earlier than 800 A.D. Still, in this age of wonderful discoveries, we may anticipate the production of earlier stone-monuments, and must hesitate before we arrive at final opinions. Within the last few years some fragments of pottery have been found in the Fayúm with marks upon them, and which open out a new vista of speculation, but nothing is yet certain.

It has often been wondered, how the Hebrew language, from 1451 B.C., the date of the death of Moses, to 500 B.C., the time of Ezra, exhibits no material change, such as would be expected in the lapse of one thousand years. How different is the language of the age of King Alfred from that of Queen Victoria ! It is supposed that, as time went on, the Hebrew language, as known to us, stiffened into a written language (an instance of which process we have to

this day in Latin), while the vernacular underwent gradual changes from century to century; at any rate Ezra and Daniel used both languages. In the Book of Ezra Aramaic commences chapter iv. verse 8, and ends chapter vi. verse 18. The letter of Artaxerxes (chapter vii. 12-26) is also in Aramaic. In Daniel Aramaic commences chapter ii. verse 4, and extends to the end of chapter vii. The prophet Jeremiah also uses Aramaic forms, and one verse, chapter x. 11, is in that language: some say that it is a verse of the Aramaic Targam, which has inadvertently been entered in the text: others imagine that it is a proverb, which the Prophet writes down as he heard it spoken: the evidential value is the same under both theories, and amounts to this, that the people were in a state of linguistic transition.

Emanuel Deutsch remarks that a certain change is noticeable in the Old Testament, due either to influence of time, or of the idiosyncrasy of each writer, or to the difference of style of composition, prose, or poetry: there are important differences between the earlier and later books of the Old Testament. Certain forms and words common in the Pentateuch do not appear again until very late. Words, and forms, in prose, lose their meaning in poetry. There is a higher style of diction in the time of David and Solomon. The Assyrian invasion corrupted the purity of the language, blunted its sense of grammatical nicety, and caused those, who clung to the ancient style, to introduce dead archaisms.

Returning to the time of Moses, to consider the vernacular spoken, it is clear, that Balaam and Balak could not have been acquainted with the Hebrew language, and yet the gleaming words of the former reach us in that vesture. From a linguistic point of view the Book of Job has no interest, as, admittedly, it is a beautiful dramatic poem, such as Milton's *Paradise Lost*. When the spies entered Jericho, they were kindly treated, though in secret, by Rahab: there could have been no interpreter there. Women in the East are not often bilingual. The spies had been forty years in the desert, and their ancestors centuries in Egypt; yet somehow or other they held familiar communication with a Canaanitish woman. Soon after the occupation of Canaan, we find a divergence of pronunciation betwixt the dwellers on the east side of Jordan, betraying the residence of the speaker, in the *Shibboleth* story. Ruth the Moabitess could hardly have acquired Hebrew, living among her own people; it is more probable, that Naomi, who spoke Hebrew naturally, acquired the Moabite language. In that case, the beautiful expression of love to her mother-in-law is only a translation from Moabite; but the words are as musical in English, the second translation, as they are in Hebrew, the first. It is a matter of uncertainty, who the Philistines were, but they could scarcely have been Semites: they were probably from Egypt. It is obvious that Delilah did not speak to Samson in Hebrew; and when the giant

Goliath taunted David, a mere shepherd lad, he could hardly have used Hebrew, as he treated the whole nation with scorn, and swore by his own gods; and no interpreter was possible on such an occasion, but David understood the drift of his boasting threats, and answered him. Among David's servants was Uriah the Hittite; this language is still an unrevealed secret, but it was not Hebrew. It is probable that, as a mercenary soldier, he knew Hebrew, and he married a Hebrew woman. With Hiram, King of Tyre, David contracted a friendship, and the Phœnician language, being closely allied to the Hebrew, was no doubt mutually intelligible. With Solomon we find an Egyptian wife, followed by Egyptian-speaking attendants, settled at Jerusalem. And to Solomon came the Queen of Sheba from the uttermost parts of the earth, as One, who cannot err, tells us; and, if the map of the known world of that period is examined, it is literally true; but we have no hint as to the language she spoke, and by what means she conversed with King Solomon. And the memorable words, uttered by her, could not have been spoken by her in Hebrew. Jeroboam, the first King of Israel, had been a sojourner in Egypt, and Shiskak, king of that country, came and plundered Jerusalem in the time of Rehoboam. If we are to believe the Egyptian Chronicles, these invasions were frequent; and the Egyptian language must have been known to individuals. Ahab, King of Israel, married Jezebel, daughter of the King of Tyre, speaking the Phœnician language: she was accompanied by the priests of Baal. The cries of these priests to their gods on Mount Carmel must have been in Phœnician; and the language of Elijah, "the Tishbi," from Gilead, east of the Jordan, must have been something different from Hebrew, probably Aramaic. According to the universal practice of all Oriental chroniclers, all the sayings, both of Elijah and the priests, are recorded in the conventional Hebrew of the Book of Kings. When we come to reflect upon the language spoken by Jezebel, we have to face new phenomena. She was the daughter of Ethbaal, King of Tyre, and priest of Astarte: of the same family, in the next generation, came Belus and Dido, also called Elissa, who founded Carthage. We have to thank these two women for the names of Isabel and Elisa. We know what the Phœnician language was from inscriptions, such as that on the sarcophagus of Esmunázar in the Gallery of the Louvre. If any one were to doubt, that Carthage was a Phœnician colony, the stones with Punic inscriptions would cry out to correct him. Some such language was spoken by Jezebel and her followers; and it was not Hebrew. Athaliah, her daughter, probably took it with her to Jerusalem. The discovery of the Moabite Stone has revealed to us the language of Moab; it is the oldest specimen of alphabet-writing in the world, 900 B.C.; and it records the defeat of King Ahab by the King of Moab. In the time of Elisha we find the conversations of the

King of Syria at Damascus, and Naaman the Syrian, and a letter to the King of Israel, all in Hebrew, as if textually quoted; but we feel instinctively, that the language of the Hebrews could not have been used by these speakers, whose vernacular was Aramaic. The servants of Naaman the Syrian begged him to wash in Jordan and be clean: they could hardly have spoken Hebrew, though the little maid may have done so.

The prophet Jonah wrote about 862 B.C. He went to Nineveh, and our Lord tells us that the men of Nineveh repented at his preaching: we have to ponder as to the language which he used, for we know the language, in which his prophecies are written, and we know the language which the King and people of Nineveh used: it is not obvious how Jonah acquired a facility of speech in a totally different language of a remote country.

The prophet Isaiah wrote about 750 B.C. In chapter xix. verse 18, he writes: "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan," or, in other words, the Jewish settlers in Egypt shall speak the language once spoken by the Canaanites, but "which" (to quote the Speaker's Commentary) "had been sanctified by being employed as the vehicle for the commemoration of God's purposes to mankind, and was called 'Hebrew.'"

The power of Assyria, with its capital Nineveh, on the Tigris, began now to be known; and in the reign of Hezekiah Jerusalem was besieged, about 725 B.C. We find the servants of Hezekiah upon the walls of the beleaguered town, beseeching Rabshakch not to speak in the Jews' language, or Hebrew, but in Aramaic, the language of Damascus, in order that the common people might not understand his words. The language of Assyria itself has now been revealed by inscriptions as Semitic, but distinct from both the above. Then came the captivity at Babylon, 588 B.C., and the Jews had to listen to another Semitic language, the Babylonian, of which we have ample information from Cuneiform inscriptions; and the Hebrew language, which had been formed during the captivity in Egypt, received its death-stroke during the captivity at Babylon. Here, however, they were destined to come into contact with a new people, speaking an Arian language, the Persian. One word of that language crept into the Song of Solomon, "pardés," which has become one of the notable words of the Eastern and Western worlds as "paradise," or "Paradise." The Persian is one of the most illustrious of the Arian languages, as it passed from Zend into Pahlavi, and from Pahlavi into Persian. If on the one hand it was strengthened by contact with, and absorption of, Semitic elements from the Arabic, on the other hand it has, from its own resources, lent strength to the Arian Hindustani, and the Altaic Turki. It stands by the side of the English as one of the two Arian languages, which have had the strength in them-

selves to free themselves from the tyranny of inflections and grammatical gender. We know the language, in which Cyrus and Darius spoke to Daniel, from the inscriptions upon Cyrus's tomb at Persepolis, and the stately tablets of Darius's inscriptions at Behistún: we must however recollect that the *popular* language of a nation runs as it were underground, leaving scant traces of its existence in literature, which has a separate life of its own.

Persian words are found in the Books of Ezra, and Daniel, and the appearance of such strangers in the latter seems an argument against those, who assign to the Book of Daniel a Maccabean date, just as the appearance of Egyptian words in Exodus shows that that book was written by some person who had sojourned in Egypt. Take the analogy of the Anglo-Indian, who after his return home unconsciously uses Indian phrases, or words, unintelligible to his friends, who have never visited India, and to his grown-up children, who have forgotten the words used by them in childhood.

The remnant of the Jews returned, under Zerubbabel, to Jerusalem in 536 B.C. The prophets Haggai, Malachi, and Zachariah still wrote the conventional Hebrew. Artaxerxes, 467 B.C., sent Ezra to Jerusalem. In 445 B.C. Nehemiah arrived at Jerusalem. His book lets side-lights in upon the language spoken by the people: he saw Jews apparently at Jerusalem, who had married wives of Ashdod (Philistines), of Ammon and Moab, and their children spoke half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the "language of the Jews, but according "to the language of each people." The teaching of the prophets had ceased: the Hebrew language was no longer spoken. Like Sanskrit and Latin, it had done its great work, and died away. In the Book of Esther, of the same period, we read of the one hundred and twenty-seven provinces, to the inhabitants of each of which the great King wrote *according to their writing and their language*, from India in Further Asia to Ethiopia in Africa. All have passed away, language and written character, save Hebrew and Greek, for to them were committed the oracles of God. As time went on, the Jewish nation had to receive its orders in Greek, and then in Latin, and under the fiat of the latter ceased itself to exist, A.D. 70; for the nation also had completed the task, which was given it to do, when Abraham was called two thousand years before. But we must recollect that, when the Jews returned from Babylon, they left a large colony of their brethren behind them, and they flourished: we read later on of Tobit at Ekbátana: they had copies of the Books of Moses with them, and thus it was providentially arranged, that any tampering by Ezra or others with the text would not be possible to take place undetected.

In Chapter I. it was stated that it was not the *same* Aramaic which was spoken by Abraham, and by our Lord, but it was *similar*. This cannot be brought home more strongly than by considering

in a reverential spirit what is told us with regard to the Transfiguration. Luke tells us, on the authority of Peter and John and James, who were eye-witnesses, that Moses and Elijah talked with our Lord, and spake of His decease (*ἐξοδον*), which He should accomplish at Jerusalem. Now the epoch, at which Moses lived, is distant from that of Elijah by the interval of five centuries, and that of Elijah from that of our Lord by an interval of nine centuries. The Apostles heard with their ears and comprehended with their understanding, and recognized the solemn purport, of the words uttered by each speaker, all of whom used the Aramaic language. But we cannot shut our eyes to the great fact that, judging human phenomena in the ordinary way, the form of Aramaic words and sentences used by Moses must have differed materially from that of Elijah, and that of Elijah from that of our Lord, and the Apostles, who understood them. It is difficult to suggest a solution.

One word on the subject of "bilingual" individuals and populations. In the new Oxford English Dictionary it is interpreted as speaking, reading or writing, in two languages, but in linguistic works it has a narrower sense. Every young girl who learns French in the schoolroom, and boy, who learns Latin at school, is, according to the Dictionary, "bilingual." Every inscription with the text translated into a second language is bilingual. But, when a traveller reports that the uneducated inhabitants of an island, or region, are bilingual, or in a linguistic work we read that a belt of country is occupied by a *bilingual* population, something very different is intended to be implied. It means that the men, women and children, without receiving instruction, but under the influence of the circumstances, which surround them, unconsciously get into the habit of speaking (not necessarily writing or reading) two languages. In Switzerland, overlapped by their great French, Italian, and German neighbours, nearly every one is bilingual. On the borders of England and Wales we find the same phenomenon. In large belts of country in British India, which lie betwixt great linguistic regions, such as Tamil-land and T elugu-land in the one case, and Bang al and Beh ar in the other, the populations speak indifferently both languages. This is Provincial, or National, bilingualism. But there may be also "Family or Tribal" bilingualism, the result of intermarriages betwixt persons speaking naturally different languages. Purchased slaves learn to speak the languages of their masters, without forgetting their own. The same thing is happening with regard to immigrants into a strange country; the first generation in such cases is bilingual; the second adopts exclusively the new language. There is no rule absolute. Many Persian immigrants into India centuries ago still speak Persian

in their families; and to the outer world the languages of India. The Jews, wherever settled, have an alternative jargon in reserve. On the other hand, the French Huguenots, who went out to the Cape Settlement, became blended with the Dutch Boers, and have lost their French, as the Huguenot families have in England; while Scotch settlers in Canada have lost their English, and adopted French.

I wish to maintain that our Lord and His twelve Apostles *were not* "bilingual," either on account of their Province or Family. It will hardly be asserted, without actual proof, that there were schools for teaching Greek in Nazareth or Capernaum, and that our Lord, and the twelve, attended them. No doubt they used Latin and Greek loan-words, the names of particular places, such as Dekapolis, or of particular things, such as *κίβιστος*, *δηνάριον*, just as to this day the English-speaking populations use French and Latin words, but nothing more.

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### CHAPTER III.—THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN AND WRITTEN BY THE EVANGELISTS, AND THE WRITERS OF THE ACTS, THE EPISTLES, AND THE REVELATION.

I now turn to the language in which the New Testament was *written*. There is a considerable interval betwixt the Ascension of the Lord and the appearance of the first *written* document connected with the new faith. Our Lord, like Elijah and John the Baptist, left behind Him nothing in writing. His work was oral, and we have no indication, that His companions and casual hearers caught up and recorded His words at the time. In Luke xvi. 6 we read that the Lord in the parable of the unjust steward used the following words: "Take thy bill and *write* fourscore." The word "write" is not attributed to Him save in that parable. He knew how Jeremiah had written, "Write all the words that I have spoken," but He Himself gave no such orders. The eyes of His followers were darkened. One Evangelist, who had special knowledge, tells us that there were many other things which Jesus did, of which we have no record; and Paul hands down one sentiment attributed to the Lord which is not found in the Gospel, and he tells us also in the Epistle to the Galatians, that the Gospel which he preached was not by him "received of man, but by *the revelation of Jesus Christ*." This does not preclude the idea that he, like the other Christians, had information of the events of our Lord's life from oral or written statements as described in Chapter I.

Our Lord no doubt made other communications to His Apostles after His Resurrection, besides those narrated; but the neglect of the two disciples (one of whom was Cleopas, possibly Alpheus)

who accompanied Him to Emmaus, to record on paper the wonderful communication made to them, explaining to them the whole *raison d'être* of His sufferings and glory, seems to pass all conception, and it is remarkable, that Luke, who had had the advantage of living so long in intimate connection with Paul, and would therefore appreciate the extreme importance of this discourse, should have failed to collect and record the details, which, coming from His own lips, would have set so many questions at rest. We have to recognize a period of oral teaching and preaching at first by eye-witnesses, who had no conception of the magnitude of the movement which they were initiating. They rather expected a speedy end of the world, and the second appearance of their Lord, and the idea of writing books to edify future generations never occurred to them. This is to be deplored: an early authoritative Gospel would have saved much quarrelling: if Paul had had one to refer to and quote from, it would have been better: he seems to minimise the earthly life of the Saviour: his Church is an ideal: in the Gospels it is very real. The art of writing was rare among the simple peasants of Galilee. The commands of the risen Saviour were *μαθητεύσατε, κηρύξτε*, and they took Him at His word. Their aim was to convert their own people only. Oral handing down of legends, ballads, and traditions is common in the East to an extent which we cannot conceive in Europe.

A notable miracle is reported. On the tenth day from the Ascension, the disciples, *with the women and the Virgin Mary*, were all in one place, when the Pentecostal miracle took place, and the Holy Spirit fell upon all, male and female. This is supposed to have affected the language spoken. There are many interpretations; it is not recorded, that all made use of the gift, whatever was its nature, either at Jerusalem, Samaria, Cæsarea, or elsewhere. Some of them certainly obtained a wonderful boldness to speak the Word of God, and to speak it effectually, so as to convince the intellect and convert the hearts of their hearers. Paul states, that he received the same gift, and he certainly had the power of preaching and convincing to a marvellous extent, but on the only occasion recorded, when he came into contact with people, who did not speak Greek or Aramaic, but used the speech of Lycaonia, he did not seem to understand them until they carried their words into action. We are told that Peter readily conversed with Cornelius, the centurion of the Italian band in the fortress of Cæsarea, the key of the country. He was probably a Roman, or at least one of the Latin race, and knew little of Greek and Aramaic. He and his kinsmen and friends, probably military men, or camp followers, were heard to speak with tongues and magnify God. We may believe that these men, on their return to Rome, laid the foundation of the Christian Church which Paul found in existence, by their earnest teaching and preachings. If



they did so, they made full and beneficial use of the talents entrusted to them.

Preaching in Aramaic must have been the employment of the disciples at this period, telling over and over again the same wonderful story, but necessarily varying in details, as all had not had the same experiences. Some had seen miracles and listened to parables; others had been cured of diseases. From the first there must have been some quasi-authoritative formula, in which were the germs of the Creed, which each Christian Missionary preached, and which each neo-Christian accepted before his baptism. A careful perusal of Paul's Epistles, especially the Pastoral, show clearly, that there were in existence authoritative confessions of faith and summaries of doctrine, not necessarily the same everywhere, quoted *totidem verbis* by Paul: we must recollect that Paul, I. Cor. xi. 23, gives the earliest in date written account of the institution of the Lord's Supper that has come down to us. The services of the deacons, who were Hellenists, would be valuable to address the Hellenist strangers from Alexandria and Cyréné in Africa, and Cilicia, and Asia Minor in Asia. But as the eye-witnesses passed away by death or dispersion, it was felt that this *oral* teaching had its disadvantages. There was danger of additions being made, omissions of important doctrines, and inaccuracies. We have an exact parallel in our missionary deputations of this day. The missionary comes home, and tells his story, from his own point of view solely, what he saw and heard; the speaker at secondhand gets up the story, or arms himself with notes: he is less fresh, but has a larger grasp of the subject. At length an official history of the mission is compiled, in the same way, but under authority. *Oral* Gospels gradually came into existence, definite in general outline, uniform to a certain extent in language, quoting freely from the Aramaic Targams of the Old Testament and sometimes from the Septuagint, when Hellenists were addressed. It is asserted that a Palestinian version of the Septuagint existed. The *oral* grew on into *written* accounts, to the existence of which Luke, in the first verse of his Gospel, alludes. We must recollect, that the *oral* Gospels were *doubtless not in Greek*, but in the Vernacular of the people, Aramaic, and the notes made to help the memory were also in Aramaic; if this be conceded, it is clear that Matthew in his Aramaic Gospel incorporated such notes in their Semitic form: Mark and Luke translated them into Greek, as they compiled their Greek Gospels: the different renderings of the same Aramaic word by the different authors may account for some of the strange discrepancies. Each Apostle and each speaker naturally laid stress upon the particular portion of the great story, which impressed him most. At last, when the number of adherents increased, and the men, who had known the Lord in the flesh, disappeared, it became necessary to have some authoritative Gospel, which might be

appealed to in case of divergence of statement, as different sects were coming into existence, and thus we arrive at the time A.D. 60, when the Gospel of Matthew is supposed to have appeared, twenty-seven years after the Ascension. It was composed by an Apostle, by a man, whose business, as collector of taxes, satisfies us that he could write: it was written for the benefit of his countrymen, the people of Galilee, for he was called from his seat of office in our Lord's own city of Capernaum. There is a direct statement of the early Fathers, Papias, Origen, and Jerome, that he wrote his Gospel in Aramaic, and the probability coincides with the statement: he must have spoken Aramaic to be able to manage his office; there was no more *prima facie* necessity for his knowing Greek than for a Hindu village-accountant, who keeps the accounts of his village in Hindi, to know Persian or English. He collected the Customs on the little lake of Galilee. Like the books of Livy and many of the most valuable Greek works, this Aramaic Gospel has disappeared; but there is credible evidence of the genuineness and authenticity of the Greek Gospel attributed to Matthew which has come down to us; it has never been disputed that the Aramaic Gospel once existed, and the Greek is in our hands. It is not necessary to assume that the Greek "replica" (the term used by painters who paint the same picture twice over) has not the force and authority of an original Gospel. Up to the fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, the Aramaic version may have met the wants of the Palestine Church: after that event a Greek version was required: some illustrious books of antiquity exist only in translations, or Matthew himself may have superintended the work of translation into Greek, so as to supply the needs of Hellenists residing in Palestine. Of this we have remarkable illustration in the case of a writer of the same epoch, also a Jew. Josephus wrote his works originally in Aramaic, and admits his weakness in Greek composition. In the preface to the "Wars of the Jews," § 1, he writes: "I have proposed to myself *for the sake of such as live under the Government of the Romans*, to translate these books into the Greek "language;" it is a fair inference that Matthew may have done the same. Nor is it anything out of the way for an author to publish a book in two languages for two different classes of readers. In the Empire of Austria, to this day, authors publish books at the same time in German and Slavonic languages; the Life of Frederick the Noble" was published last year at London and Berlin in German and English. I have published books at Agra in India, in English and Hindustani at the same press, the same day, being responsible for every word in either language. After the lapse of centuries, copies of portions of the Scripture in Samaritan, Koptic, Abyssinian, Gothic, and Syriac have been recovered. The Aramaic Gospel of Matthew in this wonderful age may some day gladden our eyes.

Before alluding to Paul's Epistles, I must try and throw some

light upon the duties of an amanuensis in Eastern countries, and specially in bilingual countries. In Paul's Epistles we find phrases like this: "I, Tertius, *who wrote* this Epistle, salute you in the Lord;" "Ye see how large a letter I have written with *my own hand*;" "The salutation of the *hand of me, Paul.*" To the official of British India such remarks come home with peculiar force. Jerome writes, "Habeat ergo Paulus Titum interpretem." If Paul employed an amanuensis, it was because of the weakness of his sight, not on account of his inability to compose grammatically, and write legibly, a letter in Greek, for he was a competent Grecian. An English statesman or man of business at the present time dictates a letter "totidem verbis" to his private secretary, or gives him the purport, and leaves the skilled and trusted secretary to produce the proper phraseology. In unimportant matters this answers; but when a different language is used, and a French or German clerk is employed, greater caution is necessary, and the draft letter has to be read and corrected and approved. Such is the necessity of office-life in British India. The British official has native clerks seated on the ground near him, quite capable of rendering his brief, ungrammatical verbal orders into grammatical, courteous, official, elegant language in Persian, Hindustani, or any other language required. I think that I state a fact, that not a single British official throughout India, either in my time, before or since, could engross his own judgments or orders in such a form, that they could be issued and understood. But none the less, the orders issued are accurate and faithful, for they are read over, and, if need be, corrected, before the seal and English signature are attached. In the thousand documents, to which I have attached my name, I have never been tripped up once; of course the *style* of the particular amanuensis, who draws up a particular proceeding, is evident. When these facts are considered, many difficulties with regard to the Greek Epistles ascribed to the Galilean fishermen, Peter and John, are cleared away. The difference of style in the Epistle of John, and in the Revelation, may be explained by the fact that he had a different amanuensis. Should it be argued that Peter was not responsible for the wording of his Epistle, this objection cannot be maintained. Jerome writes: "Denique duæ Epistolæ, quæ feruntur Petri, stylo inter se et characteribus discrepant, structurâque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus "*diversis eum usum interpretibus.*"

It is well known to all those, who for many years have been dictating lengthy judgments, or executive detailed orders, in a foreign language, that when the fair copy comes up for perusal, and signature, the dictating officer soon perceives which of his subordinates has drafted the paper from the recurrence of certain expressions or words, and the absence of others, for each man has unconsciously his own style. Now in the Revelation John's amanuensis

uses the word *ρομφαία* for "sword" sixteen times, though it never occurs in the Gospel of John or his Epistles, nor in fact anywhere else in the New Testament except at Luke ii. 35: "a sword shall pierce through thine own soul."

But another consideration forces itself on those familiar with the mode in which India is governed. The Viceroy has occasion to write a letter, possibly complimentary, possibly of most serious import, rebuking him, fining him, perhaps dethroning him, to a native Hindu Raja. Neither the Viceroy, nor the Raja, has the least elementary knowledge of the Persian language; but in that language, in courteous phraseology, a letter is indited by a skilled official penman, signed and sealed by the Viceroy or his Chief Secretary. On arrival at the Native Court, it is read and explained to the Raja by his own bilingual official. The letter-writer, so familiar in the streets of an Italian town, is unknown in England; but in India, among the unlettered people, I have known letters on the ordinary details of life indited in Persian. Neither the sender nor recipient knew any language at all. I remember one of my grooms, who was with me in camp far from his home, bringing me a long letter in Persian, the meaning of which he wished to know. It was couched in high-flown language, and common-form expressions, but the object was to announce the birth of a baby, and the well-doing of the mother.

When it is objected that the Epistle to the Hebrews could not have been intended for the Jews of Palestine, or the Epistle to the Galatians for the Galatians, as they did not know Greek, the circumstances above stated must be borne in mind, especially the patent fact already alluded to, that the Papal rescripts to the Irish people are still to this day published in Latin.

About Paul being bilingual there can be no doubt. He could speak Aramaic and Greek, and write Greek; as to his power of writing or reading Aramaic we have no evidence. In a spirit of antagonism to the Jews, the early Christians west of Palestine adopted the use of the Septuagint. Stephen was bilingual; his dying speech to the Sanhedrim was in Aramaic. Paul's companions, Barnabas, Mark, Luke, Apollos, Aquila, and Priscilla, Titus, Timothy, Philemon, were all Hellenists. Something may be collected as to the degree of literary culture to which Paul had attained. He quotes four Greek poets: it is true that one of the quotations occurs in the works of two poets, Aratus and Kleantes. Euripides puts into the mouth of Heracles the odious Epicurean sentiment of the ancients, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," and recognizes the fiction of Fortune as if evangelical truth:

*“ εὐφραίνε σαυτὸν, πίνε, τὸν καθ’ ἡμέραν  
βίον λογιζοῦ σὸν, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα τῆς τύχης.”*

Paul writes, "Some (*τῖνες*) of your own poets say so." He puts

the words of Æschylus in the Play of Agamemnon into the mouth of our Lord as the Greek rendering of his Aramaic utterance: *πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λακτιῖζε*. However, in the Revised Text this passage is struck out. Apparently Paul did not know Homer, although an Ionian; he had visited Troas; his eyes must have looked at Pergamus and Mount Ida, and across the sea to Samothrace, yet the *religio loci* had not stirred him. A man of Macedon had appeared to him, and he could not possibly have been ignorant of that greater man of Macedon, who had, three centuries before, come to fulfil the prophecies of Daniel, had conquered the Eastern world, had been welcomed by the High Priest at Jerusalem, had destroyed Tyre, and founded Alexandria. At Athens Paul must have been aware of the existence of the theatre of Dionysos under the Acropolis, where the plays of Euripides were still repeating the old Homeric story so dear to the Athenian people; he stood on Mars' Hill (as I have done repeatedly), and looking at the Propylæum, he had beheld the colossal statue of the Virgin Goddess, with her helmet and shield glittering in the sun, and visible to sailors, as they doubled the distant Cape Sunium.

His travels and experiences must have taught him lessons, which no Jew of the old time could ever learn; as he stood on Mars' Hill in front of the Temple of Athéné, at his feet was the Temple of Theseus, further to the right the great Temple of Jupiter Olympius; on the Promontory of Sunium was another Temple of Athéné; on his left through the pass of Daphné was the Temple of Eleusis; over the waters of the Ægean was the Temple of Ægina; the fragments, which remain of these wonderful buildings, still chain mankind. Paul saw them in their noonday splendour. He had resided at Ephesus, and knew too well the Temple of Artemis, one of the wonders of the world, on the columns of which we gaze with awe in the British Museum. He had seen the Temple of Daphné at Antioch, and heard of the gigantic Temple of the Sun at Baalbec in Coele-Syria, on the road to Damascus, the columns of which astonish the modern traveller. He must have heard from Apollos of the Serapéum at Alexandria, and dimly of the wonders of Om, and Memphis, and Thebes, in Egypt. His eyes were opened, and contrasting temple with temple, nation with nation, city with city, he knew how utterly insignificant as regards to size, and architectural magnificence, in comparison with them was the Lord's House at Jerusalem, the City of Zion, and the few sheep of the Lord's chosen flock in the land of Canaan; *but to them were committed the oracles of God*; to them in the fulness of time had come that Jesus, whom he (Paul) preached, and, while in his heart he gave the preference to the glory of the Latter House, still, on Mars' Hill he repeats in the Greek language the sentiments which years before he had heard in the Aramaic from the lips of Stephen, to whose death he had consented, that "the Lord of

heaven and earth dwelleth not in temples made with hands," echoing words spoken by the Lord to the woman of Samaria, who had seen nothing but Gerizim, and had heard of nothing but Zion. Paul fully comprehended the meaning of our Lord's parting orders to preach the Gospel *to all nations, to every creature, to the uttermost parts of the earth*, when Jerusalem was no longer the centre of the universe, the joy of the whole earth. Admitting that he wrote in Greek, he *thought* in Aramaic; here is the difference betwixt the Epistles, which bear his name, and the anonymous Epistle to the Hebrews, the writer of which was entirely a Greek in his logic, as well as his expressions. All his quotations of the Old Testament are from the Septuagint without exception; it looks as if he knew nothing but Greek, and had never been in Jerusalem. Paul and John quote sometimes the Septuagint, and sometimes oral legends of particular passages, which differ materially from the Septuagint. If the question be asked, whether Paul spoke or wrote Latin, we have no evidence whatsoever; he got on well with Julius of the Augustus' band, presumably a Roman; he addressed the crew and the soldiers on board the ship, and they understood him; but they may have been the seafaring men of the Mediterranean, who had a sailor's patois. It was easy for him to communicate with the Punic inhabitants of the island of Malta. As regards intellectual culture he stood just on the dividing line of Oriental and Occidental knowledge. His successors, and even some of his companions, for instance, Apollos, had profited from a knowledge of Philo, and perhaps a greater one than Philo, Plato; a generation later the early Fathers were not ignorant of the works of Tacitus and Pliny, Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. Asiatic and European literature had come into contact with each other. The very salutation of some of Paul's Epistles indicate a man, in whom two cultures met: *χάρις και ειρήνη*. In the first word we have the Greek *χαίρε*, and in the latter the Hebrew "Shalóm," which still lives in the Oriental salutation "Salám," or Peace.

Two questions may fairly be asked as regards this remarkable man. Had he ever seen Jesus during His earthly pilgrimage, or even heard of Him? In his defence (Acts xxvi. 9) Paul says, "My manner of life from my youth, which was at the first among my *own nation at Jerusalem*, know all the Jews." This looks as if he had been some time at Jerusalem: he was only a young man, when Stephen was stoned. His companion Luke is surprised, that even a stranger in Jerusalem should not have known the things which had lately come to pass (Luke xxiv. 18). Could he have been ignorant of the veil of the temple being rent, the darkness at midday, the appearance of men, that had been dead, walking in the streets? We cannot find any allusion in his writings to his *personal* knowledge. He tells us, that Jesus appeared to him on the road to Damascus, that Jesus spoke to him, II. Cor. xii. 9, and

again Acts xviii. 9; that Jesus appeared to him, Acts xxiii. 11. Paradoxical as it may seem, the spiritual conception, which he had grasped of his Lord, was clearer than that of any of the other Apostles at that time, though they had known Him in the flesh. Christ had appeared to him as the Crucified, Risen and Ascended Lord: of His earthly sojourn among men he had only hearsay reports: he had never, like the Jews, looked upon Jesus as a great prophet, nor, like the Apostles, had wondered when His Temporal Reign would begin: from the first time that he had known Him at all, it was as God. Many of the Roman Emperors, such as Adrian, Trajan, etc., in the course of their military career, had been Centurions, or Imperatores, before they attained the Purple: but of their early life History tells little: they appear for the first time before our minds as Emperors. So before Paul's mind Jesus had never appeared except as the Risen Saviour, the very Son of God, who had communicated this fact directly to his intelligence. Thus he was able to see and take in clearly, that old things had passed away, and that the World was on the threshold of a new departure: he refused to know Christ after the flesh, as He appeared in His earthly pilgrimage: he knew Him only as the Son of God and after the Spirit. Renan remarks that Paul had not tasted of the ambrosia of the Galilean preaching: *he had only the after-taste*. The question cannot but arise in the devout mind: Was the Christ, whom he saw at Damascus, and whom he at once recognized ("Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?"), the historic Jesus of Galilee, whom Paul had never seen, or the Christ of Paul's own imagination? It is doubtful, whether the conversion of the Gentiles was part of the original plan. Paul seems to have forced it: otherwise the new Sect would have died like many other Sects: he went into Arabia after his call, not to Jerusalem: he sought no commission from the Twelve, or casting of lots to fill the vacancy made by the death of James the Apostle: a French author made the remark, that the new Religion might in one sense be called the Pauline.

The second question relates to his knowledge of the Old Testament: whether he read it in Greek or the Hebrew text, it must have been a tedious operation from our point of view. We can judge what a Hebrew MS. was from the Synagogue rolls, which are in many Museums: but the difficulty of reading Greek MSS. is not always realized: we have fair specimens in the famous MSS. of the New Testament, known as the Sinaitic, Alexandrine, and Vatican. No separation of chapters, paragraphs, or verses; no punctuation, and words divided at the end of a line: it is true that the Hindu and Mahometan to this day have their MSS. in the same state, and Sanskrit has the additional difficulty of the words being, as it were, glued together, and letters changed by the laws of euphony: yet we do manage to read them: such a thing

as a Concordance was unknown, and reference to passages must have been very difficult, and generally each book was on a separate skin: Paul had some little alleviation in the use of papyrus; for in II. Timothy iii. 13, we read how he sends for the books *τὰ βιβλία*, and the parchments *μεμβράνα* (a Latin word). We may suppose that the parchments represented the Hebrew Old Testament, and "the books" either a copy of the Septuagint, or the materials collected for Luke's Gospel during his two years' stay at Cæsarea. He had picked up one utterance of our Lord, not recorded by any of the Evangelists, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." It is to be regretted, that he does not give in detail the conversation, which passed between him and Peter, John, and James, when they met at Jerusalem: it must have been one of the most remarkable meetings of all, that have been recorded in history, secular or ecclesiastical.

Turning to the other frontier of Paul's knowledge, we know that he had seen the great Statue of Minerva at Athens, and we wonder whether he had read the Homeric Poems, or the discourses of Plato. If he had done so, in the Iliad and Odyssey he cannot have failed to remark the triad of the Greater Divinities, as represented in the solemn oath,

*“Ναὶ μὰ Ζεῦτε πάτερ, καὶ Ἀθηναίη, καὶ Ἀπόλλων,”*

the Father Zeus, and the Son Apollo, the Lord of Light, Life, Poetry and the Healing Art, and that third mysterious, Sinless Deity, Athéné; pure, holy and chaste in the midst of a sinful crew of Gods; ever watching over, and present with her votaries, such as Odysseus, and incapable of evil thoughts, and insusceptible of stain. No one can ponder over the attributes of Athéné, as disclosed in the Homeric Poems, without feeling, that the human intellect in the conception of the Virgin-Deity had reached its highest level. And as regards Plato, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews certainly was acquainted with the writings of Philo, and perhaps of Plato. In the School of Tyrannus, at Ephesus, where St. Paul disputed daily, something must have been taught, and most probably the Philosophy of the Platonic School. It is difficult to imagine, how Paul could have escaped the contact, living as he did among the educated Gentiles. It is difficult to understand how a writer, who handled the Greek language with such marked facility, could have been ignorant of Greek literature, and therefore of its great Masters, who have influenced the human intellect to the present time: but, if he had known some of the utterances of Homer and Plato, which move generation after generation with ever living power, would he not have fortified his argument, addressed to residents at Corinth, Ephesus, and Rome, by reference to authors, who must



have been familiar with them? The writer who quoted Aratus " τοῦτα γὰρ γένος ἔσμεν " might well have quoted,

" Ζεὺς ἄρχη, καὶ Ζεὺς το μέσον, Ζεὺς ἕσχατος αὐτε."

I now approach the subject of the Epistles of James and Jude. I must ask my readers to accept, for argument's sake, that they were the Lord's brothers (Matt. xiii. 55), and not the Apostles, who bore these names. They were thus carpenters like the Lord, and probably first cousins to the fishermen, the sons of Zebedee, whose mother, Salome, was probably sister to the Virgin Mary. It goes without saying, that they spoke Aramaic, and we have no evidence, that they had learnt Greek. Accepting these facts, it is noteworthy, that out of the twelve Apostles only two, Peter and John, have left behind them any writings at all; the other ten no doubt preached and preached, and went forth to the Eastern regions, but they had no recorded dealings with Europeans or Hellenized Jews, and as far as the spread of the Gospel was concerned, their work was nil: the champion of the dogma of the apostolical succession should bear this in mind, that the evangelization of the world came from Paul and Barnabas, and not from the Twelve exclusively. The Lord had chosen a new army for the European campaign under the leadership of Paul. It is clear, that there was little sympathy betwixt Paul and James; their antecedents, experiences, and convictions, were totally different. Paul claimed to have received a special revelation, and was a travelled man. James, as far as we know, had never left Palestine, or shaken himself free of his Judaizing environment. There is no doubt, that James either wrote his Epistle solely in Aramaic or allowed it to be translated by an amanuensis into Greek under his own superintendence for the benefit of the Jews of the Dispersion. In the first view of the case the Greek version has no more original authority than the early Syriac version which has come down to us. In the second it is like the Gospel of Matthew in Greek. In the first and second verse of James' Epistle there is a play on the words *χαίρειν* and *χαρὰν*, which could not be expressed in the Aramaic. Both James and Jude, in their style, betray their Semitic origin and Jewish education: their Greek expressions are sometimes peculiar. It has been remarked, that the word-store of Jude is more real and powerful than its grammatical construction; the number of words which are his, *and his alone*, as far as the New Testament is concerned, is remarkable.

With Luke we have to deal with a Gentile and a Greek scholar of no ordinary power. It is not faultless. In Acts xxvii. 14, he writes of the ship as *αὐτή*, "she," forgetting the gender of *πλοῖον* in the preceding verses. Like the other writers of the New Testament, he found a dialect of Greek ready to hand more suitable to convey Oriental conceptions, and better supplied with word-

moulds for representing the Monotheistic idea than the Greek of the Athenian schools; for the Septuagint-Greek had been elaborated by six generations of Jews in Alexandria. He could never have seen the Lord, but he had all the qualifications of a conscientious historian. He was the companion of Paul, and dwelt two years with him at Cæsarea. During that period he had inquired, sifted and weighed evidence; he gives his opinion on facts stated; e.g. following Mark in his account of the Transfiguration, he gives his own opinion, that Peter knew not what he said. No doubt he had access to fragmentary *written* accounts, and took down from the lips of competent persons *oral* accounts, collated them, and transferred the matter thus collected in Aramaic to his own limpid Greek. He seems to use the word "ἐπιστάτα," not Rabbi, or "διδάσκαλε." Nothing in the Greek language can surpass in beauty the first two chapters of his Gospel. We sometimes wonder from what source he obtained not only some of his facts, but the purport and sentiments of some of the utterances recorded. Let us take, for instance, the beautiful words of Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist, and of old Simeon; they must have passed away sixty years before Luke took up the pen, and probably long before his birth. They had no connection of any kind with the Lord's ministry. Then a long speech of the angel Gabriel to Zechariah is recorded, who was even then in extreme old age, and must have died long before his son John commenced his Ministry. The same remark applies to the *Magnificat*, and to the words uttered by the angel Gabriel to the Virgin at Nazareth. It is a bold assertion, that the Virgin herself was Luke's informant, for she must have been in extreme old age, when he began his inquiries, if indeed she were still alive, or if he ever met her; had he done so he would have recorded the fact. The theory requires a succession of unsupported assumptions. Some go further, and assume that the Virgin left documentary evidence, for it is recorded, that she kept all these things in her heart, and her recollections may have formed parts of an oral or written Gospel. We certainly know that Elizabeth could read, for her husband, though dumb, had communicated to her the name of her son, and we may fairly presume that he did so to her, as he did later on to his kinsfolk, by writing. The hymn itself is but an echo of the beautiful prayer of Hannah on the occasion of the birth of Samuel more than one thousand years before, and it is comforting to think that women even then knew passages of the Bible by heart. In the words uttered by the angel to the Virgin occur the following: *χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη*, a play of words of extreme elegance. It may be presumed, that the words of the angel found their way to Mary's understanding in the only language, which she could have understood, and that was Aramaic, and in the Syriac version, dated 200 A.D., and Delitzsch's Hebrew version of the present time, no such play

of words can be supplied from the word-store of those kindred languages; for how much, then, of these beautiful Christian hymns the world is indebted to Luke's inspired touch can never be known. At any rate, they were translations of precious Aramaic fragments, which had survived either in the memories, or the note-books, of some of the second generation of Christians. To those who accept inspiration as an illuminating influence, not a physical or intellectual coercion, there will be no difficulty in facing these difficulties. At any rate, if the Virgin was the informant, from whose lips or writings Luke gathered this wonderful chapter, it is strange that John, who took her to his home, and no doubt lived with her till death, never alludes to these details.

With regard to Peter and John, the Galilean fishermen who led the great crusade, it is distinctly stated that they were reputed to be "*ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιώται*," which certainly means ignorant of letters. The Pharisees had, however, said the name of our Lord: "How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?" Here they erred, as our Lord read from the Roll of Scripture at Nazareth, and on another occasion wrote with his finger on the ground. Of neither of His apostles, Peter and John, have we any such evidence. Jerome tells us: "(Habebat) Petrus Marcum interpretem, cujus Evangelium Petro narrante, et illo scribente compositum est." If Peter helped Mark with the matter of his Gospel, it is possible, that Mark helped Peter in the composition and writing of his first Epistle; at any rate, his name appears in a very marked way in the concluding verses of the last chapter, and he is described as *μαθητῆς καὶ ἑρμηνευτῆς Πέτρου*. The question naturally arises, how an old fisherman of Galilee, past the prime of life, was able to write Epistles in good grammatical style in a foreign language. Old fishermen, who take up a different kind of business in middle life, are generally unable to write a decently expressed and spelt letter in their own language, much less in a language, which they had never seriously learned. We must all feel that, however quickly we may pick up the power of talking a foreign language in middle life, we fight shy of writing a letter, especially on a subject of grave importance. Is there a single ordained minister of any church in England, who, unless of French extraction or education, would venture to publish a written sermon in French, though there are many who can converse with tolerable accuracy? We are told that Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo in the fourth century, with all the advantages of his station, epoch, and environment, shrank from the difficult task of mastering Greek, though we know what a master he was of the Latin language, one so closely allied in structure and word-store to the Greek, and yet we are asked to believe that somehow or other Peter, a fisherman, between forty and sixty years of age, managed to write two Epistles in excellent Greek, though his native vernacular, the Aramaic, was

totally different in every particular, and he himself was uneducated and untrained in literary subjects. Now we may assume that Peter dictated the matter of his Epistles to "his son" Mark, who was a Hellenist of Cyprus, as public officers in India dictate elaborate judgments on suits, decided by them in the courts in India, to the trained native clerk, who carefully draws up the draft for the perusal and correction of the judge, who is responsible for every point of the argument, and for the turn of every expression. It is noteworthy he calls himself Πέτρος; Paul spoke of him as Κηφᾶς; James as Συμεών (Acts xv. 14). Let us consider the story told in Acts ix. 36-41. The woman at Joppa was named "Tabitha" in Aramaic, and "Dorcas" in Greek: both words mean "a doe, or roe." When Peter went up into the upper room, he addressed the dead body as "Tabitha," using his own and *presumably her own* language: the widows, who wept, showed the garments, which "ἡ δόρκας" had made, because Luke in his Greek narrative called her so, though, when he quotes the words of Peter, he writes "Tabitha." The inference is that Peter *spoke* in Aramaic, and Luke *wrote* in Greek.

The case of John is, in some respects, more difficult, and in some respects easier than that of Peter. He was quite a young man when our Lord left the earth. He appears to have lived a long period at Ephesus, in Ionia, amidst a Greek population, in ease and dignity. All the disciples, who knew the Lord sixty years before, had passed away, and many also of the second generation, who had had intercourse with the Apostles and Disciples. John's statements are quite free from the possibility of contemporaneous criticism. Everything had changed. The Temple had disappeared, the Christian Church was separated from the Jewish; we feel in John's Gospel, that we are entering another world as regards language, style, and ideas.

Written documents of the kind described before may have been handed down and been current in the Church. The aged Apostle may, over and over again, in his discourses at Ephesus, have repeated the conversations of his Lord, but the time had come, when it was felt necessary to close the record of the inspired writings absolutely, for spurious gospels were coming into existence, and diverse heresies were springing up. Explanations are given by John of Jewish customs and Aramaic words, which shows, that a different class of readers was addressed in a different state of culture, and with a different environment of knowledge, prejudices and preconceptions. Sometimes the manner, in which the Apostle expressed himself, or rather in which his amanuensis took down his words, causes ambiguity; for instance, εὐρήκαμεν τὸν Μεσσίαν, ὃ ἐστὶ μεθερμηνεύμενον Χριστός, John i. 41. In this passage, and John iv. 24, the word "Messiah" appears, and nowhere else. The meaning of the Hebrew word had been forgotten, when John

wrote; but when the Synoptists wrote, there was no necessity for explanation. Again, in John i. 43, our Lord remarks: "Thou shalt be called Kephas;" the amanuensis adds, "which is by interpretation a stone." So also: "Go, wash in the pool of Siloam, which is by interpretation 'sent.'" It would scarcely be believed that these two passages are pressed into the service of the argument, that our Lord spoke Greek to His Apostles, and that the woman of Samaria spoke Greek to Him, and that the two fishermen of the Sea of Galilee, Andrew and Peter, communicated to each other in ordinary conversation in Greek. All that it shows is, that a period of time had elapsed, which rendered an explanation of the word necessary, but not so great a period as caused the word to be forgotten.

The word *Χριστιανος* is never used by John, and in fact only occurs twice in the Acts and once in the Epistle of Peter; in all three times. It is a hybrid word: a Greek root with a Latin suffix. It was probably a term of reproach, or used in a hostile sense. Events repeat themselves, for in British India it was, in my time, a term of reproach. In visiting a native Christian village, I happened to ask in Hindustáni an aged convert, when he became a "Christian." The missionary checked me, and asked me not to use that term, but "Masíhí," and I remark, that in the Hindustáni Bible, in Acts xxvii. 28, Agrippa says to Paul, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Masíhí;" but St. Peter, iv. 16, accepting the term as one of abuse, is represented in the Hindustáni Bible as stating, "if any suffer as a *Kristian*, let him not be ashamed." Perhaps the Church at Ephesus had the same feelings, and we can understand them. To call a man "a Turk" in London is an insult; it is an honour to be so called in Constantinople.

In considering the language used by John in his writings, I must assume, and ask my readers to accept, for sake of argument, the theory propounded by judicious scholars, that the Revelation was written at least a quarter of a century before the Epistles and Gospel. No one can fail to be struck by the serious grammatical errors in the Revelation. In Rev. i. 5, we read, *ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός*; there are many more errors of grammar of a kind, which cannot be attributed to inaccuracy of the text. The English translation in a language free from the trammels of number, case and gender, does not exhibit these defects. Dr. Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, remarks: "This book studiously disregards the law of 'Gentile' syntax; it Christianizes Hebrew words and clothes them in Evangelical dress, and consecrates them to Christ." And again: "The reader is to be prepared for combinations independent of the ordinary rules of grammar, and having a grammar of their own, *the grammar of inspiration*" I cannot agree with this style of commentary; it seems a degradation of the Scriptures, a total misconception of the meaning of

Grammar, which is the method, unconsciously adopted by past generations of expressing their sentiments by articulated sounds and sentence-moulds. To say that inspiration has anything to do with the structure of sentences, or observance of grammatical rules, is as absurd as the remark of a certain king, "Ego sum rex Poloniæ, et super Grammaticam."

I have taken the trouble of comparing all the verses, in which these errors occur, with the version into Latin by Jerome, into German by Luther, and into Sanskrit by Carey, these three being languages, which are analogous in their rules of structure and concord, and I do not find that these translators have in any single instance paid attention to the grammar of inspiration.

The explanation must be sought for elsewhere. The Revelation was written in Patmos, a small and sparsely inhabited island; the Apostle himself was then a tyro in the knowledge of Greek-written composition, and in that out-of-the-way spot he had not the assistance of a skilled amanuensis, which could be supplied to him at Ephesus, when he commenced his later labours, which, as Greek compositions, are above criticism; the errors are just such as a Semite would make in first dealing with an Arian language, of which, with the exception of English and Persian, gender, case, and number are a chief feature. We all know what blunders Englishmen make, who attempt to write French and German. The British official in British India, when out upon some expedition of political or police importance, finds himself compelled to make use of the best amanuensis, whom he can lay hold of in an out-of-the-way village, to communicate with his subordinates at a distance, who know not a word of English; and the production, when it finds its way into the head-office, raises a pitying smile in the countenance of the skilled draftsman.

It is a fatal mistake to claim infallibility for subjective considerations in matters of pure Science, and to improvise miracles to account for the inaccuracy of a Greek sentence or the unexplained knowledge of a foreign language by an unlettered man. The servants of the Lord are quite as well equipped, and *vice versa*, to maintain His honour now, as they were in the first century. If from purely linguistic, and, therefore, scientific grounds, we are drawn to a particular conclusion, it would be cowardly to say, that theology is above grammar. We in this way add an additional poison to the shafts of an adversary. Our cause is a good one, and *non egit tali auxilio*.

John clearly thought in Aramaic, and we recognize a Semitic mind in an Arian dress. His Gospel is the most distinctly Hebraic of all four, *i.e.* tinged with the phenomena of a Semitic language in the construction of sentences; thus often in the judicial decisions of an Anglo-Indian judge, though grammatical, the Anglo-Saxon origin can be traced by the turn of the sentences, the form of the

argument, and the going direct to the point. Two strong points used to be urged in favour of the argument, that the Lord conveyed His message in the Apocalypse to John in the Greek language.

1. That He calls Himself Alpha and Omega, which clearly apply solely to the Greek alphabet.

2. That in Rev. xiv. 18 the Apostle indicates the number of the beast by a Greek cryptogram, 666.

To both these there is a reply. "Aleph and Thau" is an old Hebrew proverb for the beginning and the end. The Syriac translation has returned to this rendering; the Greek amanuensis substituted the last and first letters of the Greek alphabet, and some of the translators of the Bible at the present day into the languages of barbarous tribes, which use the Roman alphabet, have proposed to substitute "I am A and Z." The Apostle, when he dictated the cryptogram 666, was thinking as a Hebrew: he had no such familiarity with the Greek alphabet as to base his sayings upon it. The Aramaic language had a well-known written character, and each letter had a numerical value, and 666 resolves itself without difficulty into "Neron Kesar," and no doubt the Emperor Nero, who slew Peter and Paul, was intended. However, the only interest attached, as far as the present subject is concerned, to this solution is, that no argument in favour of Greek being the language of the Apostle can be based upon it, but the contrary.

In his old age the Apostle drew upon a store of sanctified recollections, and wrote his Gospel; there is no evidence, that he had seen the Synoptic Gospels, but his Gospel has a supplementary character. We all know how in old age the nearer Past, as it were, vanishes away, and the far-off Past comes before the recollection. Aged people recount in great detail, and accurately, conversations which took place half a century before: there is a peculiar illumination round the setting sun.

In this Gospel we have a narrative of the Saviour's words, which had clearly passed through the lenses of a loving heart, and thoughtful mind, just as any one would recall for the benefit of his own children the words uttered long before by a dead parent. It is clear, that his account of our Lord's utterances is not a mere chronicle, not the careful account of a skilled reporter, not the connected arrangement of well-remembered facts, but the result of deep meditation on their meaning: he realized the grave importance of every word, and he dictated in his old age, possibly in his case the *ipsissima verba* to his trained Greek amanuensis. Subsequent events had unconsciously coloured his recollection: we all know what it is to see things in the light of subsequent events: in no other Gospel is he himself called the beloved disciple: he alludes to no miraculous casting out of devils: mankind had out-

grown that mode of describing particular diseases: he never uses the word "Sadducee": the *term* had been forgotten, but he alludes to the Chief Priests, who were Sadducees, because the *office* had not been forgotten: he calls his Master *διδάσκαλε*, not *ἐπιστάτα*, as the Synoptists. He applies to his Master the term "Rabbi" five times; the Synoptists never.

The Lord had promised him (xiv. 26), "The Holy Spirit will bring all things to your remembrance whatsoever I have said unto you." This is remarkably fulfilled. The discourses with Nicodemus, the woman of Samaria, and the narrative of the raising of Lazarus, were no doubt known to all, though only recorded in John's Gospel; but how about those chapters of advice given at the Supper table just before his arrest? How could the Apostles have forgotten these words so soon, and deserted their Master, while these words were still in their ears?

One point of language suggests itself. Our Lord raised three persons from the dead; I have visited each of the spots, where these great miracles were performed, with profound reverence. It might have been expected, that as our Lord had used the words "Talitha Kumi," when He raised the daughter of Jairus, the Evangelist would have recorded analogous terms, when He raised the widow's son. But Luke records the words *Νεανίσκε, σοί λέγω, ἐγερθήτι*. Mark had learnt his lesson from an eye-witness, Peter, who was an Aramean, and remembered the words uttered. Luke had learnt his lesson chiefly from Paul, and others not eye-witnesses; he wrote as a chronicler rather than a reporter. And when Lazarus was raised, John, who is the only chronicler of this event, did not record the *ipsissima verba* of his Lord, but supplied a translation, *Δάσαρε δέυρο ἔξω*. We see the process: Peter remembered the words of his Lord, and Mark, in the freshness of his life-like sketch, took them down. Luke was an historian, who reduced all his information, whether of facts or utterances, to Greek. When John's time came, Aramaic had ceased to be understood; he may possibly have been one of the few, who knew it out of Palestine.

I shall be sorry if any words of mine, in these Papers on the Languages of the New Testament, may have distressed any tender conscience. After all, if portions of the New Testament are but translations, we must reflect what a blessing translations have been to the world, and how fortunate we are, that our Faith has chosen the best of the two alternatives. All false religions have shrunk into a dead language, which language was in very deed the language spoken by the Founder, but which has ceased to be intelligible, and is jealous of translation into the vernacular. The precious truths of the Gospel have not come down to us in the very words of the Lord and His disciples, but through the channels of trans-



lations made from the earliest periods, and, multiplied to a prodigious extent during this century, they are blown over the world. In former years subtle arguments were based on the words of the English translation, which was deemed the one unquestioned form for the English-speaking people, as, indeed, in the early centuries of the Christian Era the Septuagint-translation of the Old Testament was deemed an inspired book, and for a thousand years the very existence of Christianity seemed to depend on the Latin Vulgate. We have got beyond that stage of critical obliquity. It may be truly said, that of all the books of, or antecedent to, the Augustan age, no book has come down to us with such satisfying evidence, as to its genuineness and authenticity, as the New Testament.

THE CHURCHMAN, 1889.

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## II.

## TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

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- CHAPTER 1. ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES.  
 CHAPTER 2. LATIN.  
 CHAPTER 3. FRENCH.
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CHAPTER I.—THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES.<sup>1</sup>

I HAVE been invited by the Headmaster to speak upon a most interesting subject in my old School, and it gives me the greatest pleasure to do so. I left Eton at Election, 1840, nearly half a century ago, but it is still with gratitude that I look back to the sound education, which I received under the headmasters Dr. Keate and Dr. Hawtrey (*non sine virgâ*), and my tutors, Dr. Hawtrey, Bishop Chapman, and dear Harry Dupuis. There remain at Eton of that period only Archdeacon Balston and Mr. Carter, my school-fellows, and Mr. John Wilder, of whom I shall ever think gratefully for having "sent me up for good" at Christmas, 1834, my first out of twenty-one times.

The Old Testament, as you all know, was mainly written in the Hebrew, a Semitic language; but after the return from the captivity at Babylon, in B.C. 536, that language ceased to be the vernacular of the people, and gave way to a sister-language, the Aramaic, in which parts of the Books of Ezra and Daniel are written. Before the time of our Lord, Hebrew had become a dead language, and the Jews, as well as the Samaritans, when they read the Old Testament in their Synagogues, made use of Targams, which were partly translations, and partly explanations. When our Lord read from the Book of Isaiah in the Synagogue at Nazareth, we may presume that, if He read the actual Hebrew text, He explained it by a Targam. Some of the very words which fell from our Lord's lips are quoted: "Amen," "Ephphatha," "Talitha kumi," and "Eloi, Eloi, lama Sabacthani," the latter being a quotation from the Targam of Psalm xxii.; the hypothesis,

<sup>1</sup> Address given on Saturday, February 16, 1889, in the School Library of Eton College to Eton boys by an old Etonian.

that our Lord and His disciples, mostly residents of Galilee, and uneducated persons in a humble position of life, used the Greek language, cannot be maintained. When Paul is described in the Acts as addressing the Jews in the Hebrew tongue, it means, that he used the vernacular understood by the Hebrews, *i.e.* Aramaic. No doubt Paul, a highly-educated man, born a citizen of a Gentile city, spoke both Greek and Aramaic.

The Hebrew Scriptures had been translated into Alexandrine Greek about 150 B.C. by the order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt. This translation differs materially from the Hebrew text, which has come down to our time, and is known as the Septuagint, from the legendary number of translators employed. The New Testament has come down to us entirely in Greek, though it is asserted, upon reasonable grounds, that the Gospel of Matthew was written in Aramaic. Greek became the Church-language of the early Christians, as the Gospel spread westward into a region, where Greek was the vernacular. A value was then placed upon the Septuagint, as if it were inspired, and this error still clings to the Greek Church. In those days no Christian ever cared to refer to the original Hebrew text, but the Jews preserved it faithfully, and took many precautions for that purpose. About one hundred years before the Christian era, the old Phœnician Hebrew character, which still survives in Samaritan texts, gave way before the square-written characters so well known as the Hebrew. When Moses is exhibited in statues or pictures holding the tables of stone with the Decalogue written in the square Hebrew character, an anachronism is committed. On the other hand, that the square-written character had been adopted in our Lord's time is proved by His remark "that one jot or tittle would not pass away" (*ἰῶτα ἐν ᾧ μία κεφαλαία*), which would not have applied to the old written character, or to the Greek Uncials.

It cannot be impressed upon our convictions too strongly, that from the earliest days of the Christian Church there was a strong desire and universal practice to convey the truths of the Bible to the people in the vulgar tongue. In a letter to Paulinus A.D. 395, Jerome remarks with a kind of prophetic spirit: "Et de Jerusalem, et de Britannîâ, æqualiter patet aula cœli." In every false religion, such as the Brahmanical, Buddhist, and Mahometan, and every corrupted form of the true religion, such as the Roman, Greek, Armenian, Georgian, Slavonic, Syriac, Koptic, and Ethiopic, the tendency has been to keep the sacred books in an unknown and obsolete language, and restrict the laity and the female sex to oral instruction, or reading of selections, or metrical versions, constructed by the priests. Such instruction may possibly be good and faithful, but it varies from generation to generation, and is imperfect. For instance, sixty years ago Dr. Keate used every Sunday to read one of Blair's Sermons in the Upper School, and called it "prose."

Dr. Hawtrey used other books of the period, but they would not go down now. Moreover, the revelation, which has been made to man, is a message in its entirety to each human conscience, and, as the vehicle of words and sentences becomes gradually antiquated and unintelligible, it must be translated. We are not at liberty to place any limitation on the great plan of Salvation, and must consider the Bible as a precious legacy to be handed down from one generation to another, from one country to another, from one language to another. Wycliffe put the matter clearly when he wrote: "Since secular men should assuredly understand the Faith, it should be taught them in whatever language is best known to them." Some of you recollect that fine passage in the "Agamemnon" of Æschylus, 312:

*τοιοῖδ' ετοίμοι λαμπαδηφόρων νόμοι,  
ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλον διαδοχῆς πληρούμενοι.*

It is the link, that connects us with the Church in the Catacombs, the golden cord that unites the humble translator, now at work in Central Africa or the New Hebrides, with Luther, and Bede, and Wycliffe, and Ulfilas, and Jerome, and Origen, and the seventy scholars of Alexandria, who set the great example of rendering the sacred books of one race into the language of another, and established the great principle of doctrinal continuity, based upon the oracles of God, ever re-appearing in a new combination of sounds, syllables and sentences. The light shining through a crystal appears in different colours, but it is the same light.

The Church of the Catacombs, recruited from the lower classes of Rome, was not long content with the Greek version, and several translations were made into Latin, the earliest being a gift of the Church in North Africa to its mother Church in Italy. Many saints suffered martyrdom for the sake of the old Latin versions. A dangerous divergence of texts soon troubled the Church, and Jerome was commissioned by Damasus, Bishop of Rome, in the year 385, to revise the whole, and put forth an approved version. He was a most capable man, and used the Septuagint as the basis for the Old Testament. Accompanied by two holy Roman ladies, he settled at Bethlehem, and after he had completed his first revision, the conviction was forced upon him, that the suggestion of Origen in his "Hexapla" was the right one; and that he ought to make a fresh and distinct translation from the Hebrew text; this venerable work was known as the Vulgate. He was not a profound Hebrew scholar, and he had no critical appliances, and he lived one thousand years before the invention of printing. His work was committed to the precarious charge of manuscripts prepared from century to century by ignorant, careless, audacious, and, in some cases, fraudulent copyists.

It is astonishing to read of the liberties taken by copyists. Such a thing as a critical conscience did not exist. Glosses, written in the margin by one generation, crept into the text in the next generation; passages were altered to render the supposed meaning intelligible; there was no public or learned criticism to control the copyist working in the cloisters of a convent under particular theological influences. It is not a matter of surprise, that the text of the Vulgate, which was the very first out-turn of the new power of the printing-press, cannot be accepted, as if fresh from the hand of Jerome, yet it is most valuable. A study of the Vulgate converted Luther and the Reformers.

After a usage of one thousand years, it was declared by the Council of Trent, in 1542 A.D., to be the *only* authorized medium, in which the Gospel could be conveyed to the laity. The Church of Rome had come to the parting of the ways, and had left the high road of Bible-truth for the tortuous path of mediæval error. At a later period translations of the Vulgate were made, under Episcopal sanction, into Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Polish, and German, and published in avowed antagonism to Protestant versions.

The main stream of Christianity flowed westward to Europe; still there remained Churches in the west of Asia and north-east corner of Africa, and the early Church cared for them also. The Syriac translation was the gift of the Church of Antioch, a Greek-speaking Church, in 200 A.D., to the natives of the country, who knew not Greek. This language was akin to Aramaic, but had a peculiar character of its own. It is a cogent reply to those, who fondly urge that our Lord and His Apostles used the Greek language, that two hundred years later the Church of Syria required a translation in the vernacular, notwithstanding the great increase of Greek and Roman influences, and the entire destruction of all indigenous culture. The Old Testament was a direct translation from the Hebrew; and the Syriac manuscripts, which have survived to our time, have been valuable as checks on the Greek and Roman copyists. This version is still used for liturgical purposes by the Syriac Churches in Mesopotamia and South India, though Arabic is the vernacular of the one, and Malayalam of the other.

In Egypt there was a population which did not speak Greek, but made use of the latest, and now extinct, corrupted form of the great Egyptian language, which, through the vehicles of Demotic, Hieratic, and Hieroglyphic papyri and lapidary inscriptions, can be traced back for a period exceeding four thousand years. The Church of Alexandria, itself Greek-speaking, recognized the right of its members, who did not know Greek, to have personal access to the story of their risen Saviour, and translations were made in three dialects, Memphitic, Sahidic, and Bashmúric, showing their

anxiety that the millions of Upper as well as Lower Egypt, in the second and beginning of the third centuries, should, as the best antidote to heresies, not be deprived of their inheritance. Copies of that translation, found like waste-paper in boxes in the convents of the Nitron Lake, and forgotten by a race, which had changed their language to Arabic, have brought home certain precious contributions to our Scriptural knowledge. It has its own peculiar written character.

To the south of Egypt is the great country of Abyssinia, which is indebted to Alexandria for its being nominally, only nominally, in the category of Christian nations. Before the close of the fourth century after Christ a translation was made of the Bible into Ethiopic or Giz, now a dead language, but then the language of the natives, in a peculiar written character. Among the MSS. which have come down to us, are the unique copies of the Book of Enoch, the Book of Adam, and some books found in the records of no other Church.

From the north about that period a pressure of the Goths was taking place on the Roman Empire: they were heathens, the advance-guard of the great Teutonic branch of the ethnic family, to which we ourselves belong. The Church at Constantinople thought it their duty to give the Gospel to these heathen in the same spirit, that Britons now exhibit to the people of India, of China, of Japan, of Africa, of the Islands of the South Seas, and North and South America. A great man named Uiflås, Bishop of the Mæso-Goths, who dwelt in Bulgaria (as now called), born a heathen in A.D. 318, and baptized at Constantinople, undertook the translation from the Greek in an alphabet formed by himself for the purpose. A celebrated fragmentary copy of this translation, dating back to the fifth century, is shown at Upsåla in Sweden.

In that same century was held the Council of Ephesus, and some young Armenians came to it, their object being to buy correct manuscripts of the Gospels in Greek. Young Armenians had been sent to Alexandria to study Greek, and, on their return, under the guidance of Miesrob, who had already translated the Bible from Syriac into Armenian, they set about a translation of the Greek into the same language, and accomplished it. The debt, which they owed to Europe, has in these last days been repaid, for in the Armenian convent at Venice has been found an old Armenian Harmony of the four Gospels of the second century, showing clearly, that the four Gospels must have existed at an anterior date, whatever critics may argue to the contrary.

In the valley of the southern slopes of the Caucasus is a country called Georgia, now part of the Russian Empire. This is the region known in ancient times as Colchis, whence Jason stole the golden fleece, and to these mountains, according to the Poets,

Prometheus was chained as a punishment for the benefits conferred by him on mankind. The inhabitants had accepted Christianity, and in the sixth century, to supply a want felt, young men were sent to Alexandria to study the Greek language, and this enabled them, on their return, to translate the Bible into the Georgian language, the first language in Asia belonging neither to the Arian nor Semitic family, which had been so honoured, and in a written character peculiar to itself.

The Teutonic races, which had been the terror of Rome up to a certain time, had been pushed forward to the West by hordes of a different though kindred origin, the Slavs, and the vast plains of Russia had been occupied, and the settlers had accepted Christianity from Constantinople. As if in the fulfilment of a law, which could not be broken, two brothers, Cyril and Methodius, sons of a Greek noble at Thessalonica, both learned men, and occupying high social positions, which had enabled them to acquire the language of the Slavonic barbarians, retired into a convent for the purpose of translating the Bible, before the close of the ninth century, in a form of written character invented by themselves, which still bears the name of Cyril.

The same fatality overtook all these translations: the spirituality of the Church, which used them, was dried up, and the language had become unintelligible to the vulgar, though still clung to by an ignorant and unworthy priesthood. The Gothic language perished entirely off the face of the earth; the others survive, and are used rather to obscure than to teach truth. A part of the duty of Bible Societies is to supply the Bible in the modern vernaculars to Churches, starving under the shadow of old and venerable, yet dead trees, which no longer bear leaves and fruit, for the healing and feeding of the nations.

In the peninsula of Arabia the Gospel never obtained a foothold. The Arabic language was, however, destined to play a mighty part in the history of mankind, as the vehicle of a false religion, and as the invigorator by its contact, and linguistic amalgamation, of some of the greatest languages in Asia and Africa. Translations of the Bible were made into Arabic as early as the lifetime of Mahomet, who died A.D. 632; from which, as he knew no other language, he must have gleaned his imperfect and distorted knowledge of its contents. Had such a translation of the Bible as now exists in Arabic been at the disposal of that great high-souled and earnest man, how different would probably have been his utterances! how different the creed of his followers!

Still further to the east is the kingdom of Persia. The inhabitants of the southern provinces speak a language called Persian. A translation of the Pentateuch was made by a Jew from the Syriac. The date is uncertain, but it cannot be earlier than the ninth century A.D., as the Tower of Babel is called the

Tower of Baghdad, a city, of which the foundation date is known, A.D. 827.

Let me cast one glance at the extreme west of Europe. By the singular good fortune of the inhabitants of the British Islands in all the early efforts of Christians they had a conspicuous part. They received the Gospel early; one of the early Christian martyrs, St. Alban, died at Verulam in Hertfordshire; and their missionaries to the heathen were early in the field, Columba, Columbanus, Aidan, and Boniface. They were foremost in the Crusades, foremost in Bible-translation, and in the Reformation. Cædmon, who lived in the seventh century A.D., wrote a metrical version, but Anglo-Saxon interlinear versions of the Latin Bible are found. The Venerable Bede, on the very day of his death (A.D. 735), gave a finishing touch to the translation of John's Gospel. King Alfred the Great took part in the translation of the Bible, and prefixed some chapters of Exodus to his Code of Laws in A.D. 890. An Anglo-Saxon Glossary of the four Gospels, dated A.D. 900, is in the British Museum. In the tenth century another Anglo-Saxon version was made from the Vulgate, and the MS. is in the Bodleian. There exists also a copy of Paul's Epistles with Irish, or Erse, interlineal Glosses of the ninth century A.D.

This completes the story of the different languages to which the Bible was committed at a period antecedent to the Norman Conquest of England: 1. Hebrew; 2. Aramaic; 3. Samaritan; 4. Greek; 5. Syriac; 6. Latin; 7. 8. 9. (3 Dialects) Koptic; 10. Ethiopic; 11. Gothic; 12. Armenian; 13. Georgian; 14. Slavonic; 15. Arabic; 16. Persian; 17. Anglo-Saxon; 18. Old-Engl. There was a dense silence for three centuries, and a dark period preceded the dawn of the Reformation. Oriental travellers know well the darkness, that precedes the coming of the morning. It was a darkness of ignorance, superstition, priestcraft, and bigotry. Latin had died out of the mouths of the people; a new birth of vernacular forms of speech had taken place; but the Romish Church was blind in spite of warnings. The first effort of Protestants was to get at the inspired records of their faith, and give them to the people. The Anglo-Saxon versions above alluded to were justly appealed to by the Reformers in England, as a proof of the continuity of vernacular versions, and the right of Christian Churches to have the Bible in the language understood by men, women, and children. To Wycliffe, the morning-star of the Reformation, in A.D. 1380, *temp.* Richard II., belongs the high honour of completing the translation of the entire Scripture in English. At nearly the same time, and 20. before the appearance of Jerome of Prague and Huss in Bohemia, a translation had come into existence. 21. A German version was made at the expense of the Emperor of Germany in A.D. 1405, and exists in the Vienna Library. 22. A translation into Provençal dates back to A.D.



1179, and 23. one into Flemish to A.D. 1300. These existed before the dawn of the Reformation, in all twenty-three translations. Subsequent to that mighty unbarring of the doors of the closed temples of religion and knowledge, the following versions sprang into existence: 1. Welsh; 2. Gaelic; 3. Erse; 4. Manx; 5. French; 6. Basque; 7. Dutch; 8. Norwego-Danish; 9. Swedish; 10. Spanish; 11. Italian; 12. Roumán; 13. Russ; 14. Osmánli Turki; 15. Old Norse; 16. Lapp; 17. Finn; 18. Lithu; 19. Pole; 20. 21. Wend, (2 Dialects); 22. Magyar; 23. Romansch; 24. Lett; 25. Karniola; 26. Ehst; 27. Nogai Turki (twenty-seven Languages). The invention of printing, the revival of learning, the reintroduction of Greek and Hebrew into the curriculum of Western scholars, made a mighty change. The Latin Vulgate was the first book actually printed and published, in A.D. 1462. Erasmus put forth his Greek edition at Basle in A.D. 1516, followed by Cardinal Ximenes in A.D. 1520. Texts were compared, translations revised, and copies multiplied. Bohemian was the first living language printed. In the mean time the world was being explored or discovered, a clearer knowledge of the multiplicity of languages was being obtained; yet, strange to say, it never entered into the conception of the good and holy men of that period, that it was a duty to supply the heathen and Mahometan world with copies of the Word of God, and in a systematic way to re-introduce it to the knowledge of the Church of Rome, the Greek Church, and the fallen Churches of Western Asia, and North-East Africa. They were content to feed themselves with the bread of life; but it was not revealed to them, nor was it brought home to their consciences from the pulpit, that Jesus died for all, that Christ from the Cross looked down upon the poor heathen also, and that the so-called dogs had a congenital right to the crumbs from the Christian's table.

Now and then there was a bright exception. John Eliot was born in A.D. 1604, and went to New England in A.D. 1631. He learnt the language of the Algonquin tribes, 1. who then dwelt in the States of Massachusetts and Virginia, and translated the Bible, which has outlived the race, religion, and language; for all have passed away. The Bible survives as the language of a dead nation. He had no helps in his work such as men have now; his method was, "Prayers and pains through faith in Jesus Christ will do anything." At the other end of the world some laymen of the Dutch East India Company translated the Bible into Malay, 2. In A.D. 1668 the New Testament was printed in Holland, and large portions of the Old Testament in A.D. 1723, both in the Roman and Arabic written characters, at the expense of the Government, who also prepared a translation of the New Testament and part of the Old Testament in Portuguese 3. for the use of the settlers in the Dutch colonies, who spoke that

language; and this was the first vernacular translation, that reached that priest-ridden land (Portugal), and the one which, in a revised form, is still in use. In South India, Ziegenbalg, the Danish missionary, printed, in A.D. 1714, his translation of the New Testament in Tamil, 4. and had done part of the Old Testament, when he died; but his great work was completed in A.D. 1727. In A.D. 1661 Gravius, a Dutch pastor in Batavia, printed a translation of the Gospels of Matthew and John in one of the languages of the aboriginal tribes of the Island of Formósa, 5. within the empire of China. The language is still scarcely known, for before the edition was circulated the mission was uprooted. In Ceylon, before A.D. 1783, the Dutch Government had promoted a translation of the New Testament and portions of the Old into Sinháli, 6. and they were printed at Colombo. Thus there were in all of this period thirty-three translations. In some lists I find allusions to a translation, into Osmánli Turki, and Hindustáni in Asia, and Eskimó in America, but I am unable for various reasons to admit them on my list. I am dealing with facts.

Two reflections arise from these facts. The Dutch supplied translations in Malay, Formósa, and Sinháli, and the Danish in Tamil, while the British had done nothing in Asia. In the following century they made up for their slackness. The famous Roman Catholic priest Beschi was one of the best Tamil scholars of his age, and was alive during the time of Ziegenbalg's labours, but it never occurred to him to translate any book of the Holy Scriptures, for his method of converting the heathen, and his method of guiding a Christian Church, did not require it; in fact, would not have survived the contact with a knowledge of Scripture; and the same may be said of the Jesuits in Paraguay, in South America, and on the Congo in Africa, the founders of the Papist establishments in China, and the missionaries of the Romish Church at the present moment, belonging to any one of the great Congregations, labouring in any part of the world, among tribes and nations of any stage of intellectual culture. Not one of them (except the Jesuits at Beirút, who, under the pressure of the Protestant competition, have put forth an excellent, though costly, Arabic Bible) has ever taken their converts to the pure fountain of Christian truth, but substituted cunningly-devised fables of legends of the Virgin Mary and so-called saints. More than that, they are the avowed enemies of Bible-circulation by Protestant agency.

In all, at the close of the second period, there were, as far as can be traced, inclusive of the inspired Hebrew and Greek, fifty-six versions in existence, many of them dead, and used only for liturgical purposes, most of them incorrect, and requiring careful comparison with the Hebrew and Greek texts, and all very insufficiently distributed. Many nominal Christians, and

some real ones, passed through life without ever seeing a Bible. In England a large Bible was fastened by a chain to a lectern in some churches, but was not legible, nor was opportunity given to read it. Bible-possession was rare; Bible-study, in the proper sense of that word, rarer. A deadness had fallen over the Protestant Churches. There may have been some who desired, but few had the opportunity. At length, at the close of the eighteenth century, the missionary spirit burst into existence, reacting upon the home Churches; and a missionary spirit is based on the Bible, a Bible understood by the people; to be read; to be prayed over; to be thumbed by old folks; to be lisped by little children; to be spelt out by imperfectly-educated men and women; to be read and explained in churches, chapels, and Sunday-schools; to be whispered into dying ears; to be handed down with pencil-marks and annotations from parents to children.

The want was felt: nobody knew exactly how to supply it. Some effort must be made to accomplish a great work, which had been the desire of so many generations. Who would apply the spark to the train? It came about in an unexpected way. Great rivers spring from tiny fountains. The story reads like a myth of the Middle Ages; like the lying legend of Lourdes in South France it centres round a peasant girl. God's lessons can be taught by the agency of poor human creatures: there is no occasion under the Christian dispensation for visions of angels, or beatified erring mortals. A little Welsh girl had been in the habit of walking two miles every Saturday to prepare her Sunday-school lesson from the only Bible in the neighbourhood: with the savings of six years, in A.D. 1800 she walked twenty-five miles to purchase a Bible of Mr. Charles, of Bala, who received an annual small consignment from a local Bible-Association. She burst into tears and buried her face in her hands, when she heard that every copy was already appropriated. The minister was greatly moved at the sight, and gave her a copy from his own shelves, which copy is now in the Bible House in London, and respected as its very foundation-stone. In 1802 Mr Charles went to London to try and found a Welsh Bible Society, but the matter had got beyond his power, as well as his dreams, and in 1804 was founded in London a Bible Society to supply the World, and the example was followed in New York and Edinburgh, and their branches and dépôts have spread over the World. From the little acorn has sprung up a vast tree, which overshadows the globe. All other Bible-Societies are local affairs.

Since that date a great crop of new translations in the different languages of the world has sprung up. Mission-stations were planted by the different Churches, and translations sent home to

be printed. Copies were sent back in thousands to be sold below cost-price, to be used in the school, in the family, and the humble home, and to be the rule of the new life.

I now ask each boy present to accept from me a present of a specimen book, or sheet, of one single verse of the Gospel of John, in a great many, though not the whole, of these versions. I place on the shelves of the school-library a selection of versions taken at random from the store of every portion of the world. I am able to tell you in detail, where each language is spoken, and to what family of languages it belongs; what is the state of culture of the people who read it, what written character is used for the printing, and the name of the missionary or scholar who made the translation, or can make use of it; so far I can, but no living man can pretend to say, that he himself knows more than twenty out of the three hundred and thirty-one (331) varieties, and perhaps not that number; yet the knowledge of each language is by certain specific persons as certain and accurate as the knowledge of Latin and Greek possessed by the Newcastle Scholar of the year. The versions, when printed, are brought into the immediate use of the pastors, schoolmasters, and the women and children of the nation or tribe, for whose use they are prepared; they are not composed to be put away as a *tour de force* on the shelf of a library. Revision goes on with every new edition, and the scholarship of the greatest scholars of Europe and America is challenged to point out defects. Now, if any Eton boy present can point out any error of the rendering of the Greek in the specimens, which he holds in his hands, of the Fiji, or Tahiti, or Swahili, or Zulu, or Mohawk, or Telugu, or Mandarin, or Japan, I shall feel much obliged, if he will stand up and point it out, and I will get it corrected in the next edition. This is the challenge, which we give to the critic, or the doubter, or the unbeliever, quite fearless of the result, for we work in good faith.

No one part of the world is more attended to than the rest. The sun never sets on the work of the Bible-Societies; their publications are being read in different quarters at every hour of the day. Many of the translators were simple, unscientific men, but they did their work well. Very often they had no help from dictionary or grammar, for nothing of the kind existed. Eton boys can realize what it is to write an exercise without such assistance. Some required one kind of written character, some another; some were rendered in two or more to suit the requirements of the people. Art and Science have been the handmaids of the inspired Revelation.

A word about the languages of the world. There are more than two thousand mutually unintelligible spoken at this moment; but the great languages, like the English, tread down the small

ones, and languages die like the people who spoke them. King Xerxes, who was defeated at Salamis, as you all know, and who was the husband of Queen Esther, issued orders to the 127 provinces of his kingdom, according to the writing thereof, and to every people after their language. All have perished except two, Greek and Hebrew, for they both had become the receptacle of God's Word. Versions are made in dialects, where it is necessary, and in some rare cases in a jargon, for the use of Jews, or Negroes.

Europe is pretty well supplied, and the wants of the tribes who speak the smaller and less well-known languages have been attended to. In Asia great progress has been made, especially in British India; translations have been made in scores of languages, and are diligently distributed. A great work has been done in China: people used to think that there was only one language for all the inhabitants of that great Empire, but the mistake has been found out. The Book-language is intelligible to *the eyes* of all the educated, but each reader has to express himself in his own vernacular, as the translation is expressed in ideograms, which speak to the eye only, and so far resemble the figures in arithmetic, which each nation calls by a different name. Many other translations have been made in the language of the educated classes, and the different provincial colloquials, some in ideograms, and some in the Roman alphabet.

In Africa and Oceania a great work has been done, and much more is being done; the whole Bible is now to be purchased for a small sum in scores of languages, the very names of which were unknown at the beginning of this century; and they are valued above all things by the people, who gladly pay all the cost. Most of these languages are melodious, and capable of expressing every idea: all the stories about *savage* languages have been disproved. Every language of the world can be tuned to sing the same great Psalm of Salvation.

Passing into America, we find the same necessity for, and the same power of giving, the Bible, but strangely different is the vehicle of speech: while in China every word is a monosyllable, in America the word seems to disappear, and the unit of speech is a sentence, a compact expression in many syllables. It is asserted that the word "kneel" can only be expressed in eleven syllables. To record such intolerably long sentence-words a syllabary, consisting of a united consonant and vowel, has been composed, so as to shorten the inordinate length in printing; and I leave in your library specimens of this remarkable and ingenious device to bring a knowledge of the Gospel home to the Red Indians, though I doubt the expediency of retracing our steps in the path of Civilization, and going back from the perfection of alphabets to the unscientific conception of Syllabaries.

I recall to your recollection the lines of dear old Horatius Flaccus, who was fond of airing his geographical knowledge, which was not more accurate than that of the author of the Acts of the Apostles, who tells us that there were devout men at Jerusalem from *every nation under heaven* (*ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν*), but his enumeration of them reveals a very limited area. So Horatius Flaccus tells us in his own pretty way of the unlimited diffusion which he anticipates for his charming odes:

Jam Daedaleo ocior Icaro  
 Visam gementis litora Bospori,  
 Syrtesque Gaetulas canorus  
 Ales, Hyperboreosque campos.  
 Me Colchus, et qui dissimulat metum  
 Marsae cohortis Dacus, et ultimi  
 Noscent Geloni, me peritus  
 Discet Iber Rhodanique potor.

And again :

Visam Britannos hospitibus feros,  
 Et laetum equino sanguine Concanum.  
 Visam pharetratos Gelonos  
 Et Scythicum inviolatus amnem.

How true is this, though magnified a hundredfold, of the books, or rather the one Book, issued by the Bible Society! It finds its way to "Urbesque, gentesque, et Latium ferox," well called "ferox," for no such antagonist to the Bible has been found, both in deed and spirit, as the Latin Church.

I have told you of the past; let us look forward to the future of the Bible Societies. Dear boys, you are the heirs of all the ages, the "enfants terribles" of the next half-century, the

"—juvenum recens  
 "Examen, Eois timendum  
 "Partibus, Oceanoque rubro."

To your generation will be committed the duty to carry out to completion the work left undone by the men of the time of Victoria, who came to the throne, while I was an Eton boy. Let me appeal to you, in the names of old Etonians, whose glory you have to emulate. You recollect that grand passage of Demosthenes' "De Corona"? We had it, if I recollect right, when Mr. W. E. Gladstone and his brother-in-law, Lord Lyttelton, came down in 1840 to be the examiners for the Newcastle Scholarship, and I and Bishop Mackarness were in the Select; and a few years back I reminded Mr. Gladstone of the honour conferred upon me by his hands, doubly an honour when conferred by him, much as I differ from him in politics at the present moment:

*Μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδύσαντας τῶν προγόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμίῳ ναυμαχῆσαντας.*

I will tell you how this applies. Fifty years ago, moving about in our midst, were two figures, one that of a young man, who was

a private tutor, and one a boy, just such a boy as each of you are (perhaps I may have fagged him to fetch a book or carry a letter); but the names of those two are now mentioned with love and honour and fond regret, wherever the English language is spoken: George Augustus Selywn and Coleridge Patteson.

Selwyn preached in the Maori language within a few weeks after his arrival in New Zealand. Some Bishops occupy their dioceses for decades, and are dumb dogs to the end of their days. The Bible in Maori was revised, and Bishop Selwyn the second, and his widowed mother, aided in the revision. Coleridge Patteson exhausted linguistic worlds, and then invented (in the proper sense of "invenio") new. From island to island in the New Hebrides he took the Gospel of Salvation as a new idea, and he left it embedded in the language, habits, and hearts of the wild tribes, for whom he gave up his life. Had he lived longer, he would have left more ample memorials of his genius and his devotion, but his mode of life and death has left you all a great example. You remember, boys, the Greek monumental inscription on those, who fell at Platæa, and which I saw a few years ago in the Museum at Athens. Let me apply it to you: "Go, boys, do as these did, and fall as this one fell." England and Eton must be foremost in arts and arms, in the battle-field and the playing-ground, on the river and on the sea, in the lecture-room of the scholar and the mission-chapel of the missionary, in the speeches of the orator and the printed books of the author:

*Αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν, καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων.*

The office of a translator is a noble one. Over the grave of one it is recorded, that he translated the whole Bible into a language the existence of which was unknown before his arrival on the spot. When the Lord cometh, and maketh a reckoning with His servants, such as he will have a good account to render of the talents committed to their charge.

And, finally, a good knowledge of Latin and Greek (as taught at Eton in my day, and in my case flogged into me, and still taught under Dr. Warre) is a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰεῖ*, the best mental gymnastics in the world. It is taught scientifically now, but in my days the science of comparative grammar had not become known. I remember Henry Hallam, the author of "The Middle Ages," asking me in 1842, at Cambridge, whether it were true, that the Sanskrit language, which I had studied, resembled the Greek and Latin in its structure and word-store. My reply was that in Sanskrit alone was found the secret of the inflections of the verbs and nouns of her younger sister-languages. All this is in the Public School Primer now, and every schoolboy knows what a stem, and a root, and a suffix are. But Dr. Keate cared for none of such things, and probably would have flogged any boy, who suggested such nonsense.

I repeat that a scientific grounding in an Indo-European language forms a sound platform for further study. If Hebrew could be added, as a representative of Semitic languages, so much the better; but every language evoked by the genius of man, in spite of all its multiform varieties, must have a method of expressing the object, the predicate, and the subject, must have elementary roots and some method of modifying them so as to express the meaning of the speaker; it must have a sound-lore, word-lore, and sentence-lore.

The Bible is meant to be the faithful witness of past times, the solemn teacher of the Church in all times, the fountain of inexhaustible truth, the awakener of souls from a fatal slumber, the still small warning voice to the sinner to repent from his ways; it is not meant to be the subject of a merely mechanical, musical, system of chants and anthems and antiphons, sung or muttered or intoned by non-spiritual hirelings; it is not meant to be the school-book of non-Christian children, the mere shibboleth of the conventional worshipper, the *corpus vile* of the ingenious philologist, ethnologist, geologist, or historiologist. No Christian Church has ever existed without some rudimentary translation. The eunuch of Kandáké, as he sat in his chariot reading his chapter of Isaiah, understood the literal meaning of the words, as he had either a copy of the Septuagint, or an Aramaic Targum, in his hands, but understood not the application and the hidden meaning until Philip, taught by the Spirit, explained it. There is no trace of the existence of a Church, however small, without a trace of a vernacular version, and this version has not been the result of a Canon of the Church, but of the voluntary exertions of each Church.

Many non-Christians have been converted by Bible-reading, unaided by oral instruction. In all ages and countries there has been a desire, a desire not always realized, to communicate the Bible to others. It is mere folly to urge at this period of our knowledge of the languages of the world, and the intellectual aptitude of barbarous races, that the contents of the Bible cannot with care and precision be conveyed to every nation or tribe or language under the sun, so as to be understood by men, women, and children. For two thousand years, since the Septuagint was taken in hand, one stream of solemn music has been sung in the multiform voice of the human race to the honour of the Great Redeemer,

Πόλλαι μὲν Θνήτοις γλώσσαι, μία δ' ἀθάνατοῖσι,

telling the same story in fresh combinations of syllables, fresh blending of sounds, fresh scratchings of the pen, fresh impressions upon the human soul.



VERSIONS EXISTING PREVIOUS TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

PRE-REFORMATION PERIOD.		POST-REFORMATION PERIOD.	
EUROPE.		EUROPE.	
	English.		Welsh.
	Anglo-Saxon (dead).		Gaelic.
	Old-Erse (dead).		Erse.
	Flemish.		Manx.
5	German.	5	French.
	Bohemian.		Basque.
	Provençal		Spanish.
	Gothic (dead).		Portuguese.
	Latin (dead).		Old Norse or Icelandic.
10	Greek.	10	Norwégo-Danish.
	Slavonic (dead).		Swedish.
			Lapp.
	ASIA.		Dutch.
	Hebrew (dead).		Finn.
	Aramaic (dead).	15	Russ.
	Samaritan (dead).		Rouman.
15	Syriac (dead).		Lithu.
	Armenian (dead).		Pole.
	Georgian (dead).		Wend (2 dialects).
	Arabic.	20	Osmánli Turki.
	Persian.		Magyar.
			Italian.
	AFRICA.		Romansch.
20	Koptic (3 dialects) (dead).		Lett.
	Ethiopic (dead)	25	Karniola (or Slovén).
			Ehst (Reval dialect).
			Nogai (Krim dialect).
			ASIA.
			Sinháli.
			Malay.
		30	Tamil.
			Formosa (dead).
			AMERICA.
		32	New England (dead).
ABSTRACT.			
PRE-REFORMATION :		POST-REFORMATION :	
Languages	... 21 — ...	Languages	... 32 — ...
Dialects	... 2 — 23	Dialects	... 1 — 33
Total	... 56		

P.S.—I must record my obligation to the Rev. Prebendary Edmonds, of High Bray, Devon, for the advantage gained by the perusal of his published addresses on this subject in Exeter Hall, and his sermon in Exeter Cathedral in 1888, and his kind letter of suggestions. He was with great propriety selected to give the address at Eton. At the last moment the date was altered, and his services were required elsewhere. I was called upon unworthily to fill his place, for which I have only one special qualification (so far, superior to his), that I am an Etonian, sprung of a race, which for seven generations of men have known, and desire to know, no other public school but Eton, and this fact is recorded in my family-stall in Eton Chapel.

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#### CHAPTER II.—LATIN TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

There can be no question that for a considerable period the Christian Church was a Greek-speaking Church. The Septuagint had quite superseded, in the estimation of the men of that period, the Hebrew original text. The New Testament was entirely in Greek; in the Churches of Alexandria, Corinth and Antioch, Greek was the vernacular, and even at Rome there were sections of the community which spoke Greek. It is noteworthy, that the works of the great Stoic philosophers, Epictetus and the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, have come down to us in the Greek language, notwithstanding that Cicero had shown that the refined Latin of the pre-Augustan age presented a sufficient vehicle for philosophic inquiry. The oldest non-Hellenic version was not the Latin, but the Peshito Syriac, a loving return of the Scriptures to a kindred dialect of the old Aramaic and Hebrew. No one, however, can read the Greek Testament without feeling, that the penumbra of a Latin superior power overshadows it, just as in the modern literature of India the presence of English is felt in the ideas, the phraseology, and the word-store. Such words as "sicarius," "Prætorium," "membrána," "census," "Cæsar," "Colonia," "Niger," "Gaza," "libertinus," strike the reader in the same manner as an English expression in a Hindustáni document. The current coins bore Latin names and Latin characters; one of the inscriptions on the Cross was in Latin. Still, even in the distant Church of Gaul, so far removed from direct Hellenic influences, where the people spoke a barbarous vernacular, Greek was for some period the recognized language of Christian authority; in Rome the literary use of Greek extended into the third century, and in the early days of the Roman Church Greek was the language of public worship.

Here let us stand aside for a moment and reflect upon another aspect of the Divine plan; the period, the locality, the environment of the great drama of man's Salvation were unique in the

history, the geography, and the ethnology, of the world; no such a favourable conjunction of place and opportunity for a world-wide revelation had occurred before or since the Christian era, and I proceed to show, how in the fulness of time a suitable vehicle, not always the same, was, as it were, prepared beforehand to safeguard the oral Message. In all false religions the founder from his own narrow human point of view thought only of his own time, his own people, and their peculiar surroundings; his blinded followers worshipped the letter of their master's writings, and allowed of no vernacular translations, and so the oral word became shrouded and withdrawn from the human intelligence of generations yet to be born, using languages which had not yet come into existence, or which had not been reduced to literary requirements; the Message was thus darkened by the overlaying of antique and obsolete words and customs, instead of being capable of adaptation to the requirements of every age, every clime, every grade of civilization.

Now a doubt has been expressed whether the red, black, yellow, and white, man can have possibly descended from one primæval pair, and have become differentiated in the colour of their skin and shape of their skull, in the course of ages, from causes of which we have no knowledge, and in a manner, which has never recurred in the long period of recorded history. I pass no opinion on this subject beyond recording the fact, that the existing races of mankind, however differing in minor features, resemble each other physically and intellectually more than they resemble any other species of animal. But there can be no doubt whatever, that languages did *not* spring from the same seed-plot. There has been no continuous descent of languages even in historic times; they differ from each other so considerably in structure and word-store, as to render the theory of their being descended from a common stock quite untenable. Some have thrown out the idea, that man was created without the power of uttering articulate speech; that there existed in early times an animal, scientifically described as *ἄλαλος ἄνθρωπος*; after the dispersion of mankind in many countries the power of utterance was developed by their organs under different circumstances, and presented different phenomena. Now in no ancient document do we find such early allusions to the existence of differentiations of speech as in the Old Testament. We become aware of the existence of the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian languages, and of other less important dialects. All the nonsense of Hebrew having been spoken in the Garden of Eden, or before the Flood, or in Mesopotamia before the call of Abraham, has been swept away; up to the time of the Jewish Captivity the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian languages had had a long innings, and had played their game out. Egyptian might have been the language of the older Hebrews after their long sojourn in Egypt, and Babylonian might have been the language of the later Hebrews

after their shorter sojourn in Babylon: they were both literary languages, and documents in their particular form of words and method of writing have come down to our time; but they were not chosen to be the vehicle of conveying the oracles of God, and centuries have passed since they both became dead and extinct. But during the Captivity in Babylon the Jews came into contact with two other languages, the Median and the Persian; both are known to us, the former only by the inscription of Darius' tablets of Behistún, the latter by a vast literature and a living vernacular, one of the simplest and most beautiful in the world: but neither was selected for God's purposes. The Hebrew form of speech, which had lasted more than one thousand years, from the time of the sojourn in Egypt to the Captivity in Babylon, had died as a living speech, and in fact never was a sufficient vehicle for logical thought; still less so was the Aramaic vernacular, which succeeded it, and which had the peculiar honour of being the vehicle of the oral teachings of our Lord and His Apostles.

I write advisedly, that the Hebrew never was a sufficient vehicle for logical thought; as a rule, the Semitic languages are more simple, childlike, and primitive than the Arian: Emanuel Deutsch, himself a Hebrew, and a great scholar, too early lost to the world, thus expresses himself:

"Philosophy and speculation are not easily expressed in a language bereft of all syntactic structure, and of the infinite variety of little words, which ready for any emergency, like so many small living links, imperceptibly bind word to word, phrase to phrase, period to period; which are the life and soul of what is called 'construction': there is no distinction betwixt the Perfect and Future Tenses in Hebrew. There is indeed, in spite of all these shortcomings, a strength, a boldness, a picturesqueness, a delicacy of feeling, and expression in Semitic languages, but it cannot be compared with the suppleness of Arian languages, and that boundless supply of words, that enable them to produce the most telling combinations, their exquisitely consummate, and refined syntactical development, that can change, and shift, and alter the position of words and phrases, and sentences, and periods, to almost any place, so as to give force to any part of their speech."

The epoch of the Captivity was a remarkable one in the history of the world. Cyrus, or Kai Khusru, had appeared as the representative of the so-called Arian race; before him and his successors fell the empire of the Semites in Mesopotamia, and of the Hamites in Egypt. There was a birth of great spiritual leaders at that time all over the world: Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, 586 B.C.; Pythagoras flourished, 580 B.C.; Buddha, 580 B.C.; Kung-futz-zee, or Confucius, 550 B.C. The later Hebrew prophets were pronouncing the decay of Israel,

and looking forward into a mysterious and to them and their contemporaries unintelligible future. The domination of the races who spoke Arian languages commenced, when Cyrus the Persian appeared, followed by the Greeks and Latins, and law has since been given to the world in an Arian language, with the short interlude of a Semitic revival in the early Mahometan rule. On the other hand, the dominating cosmopolite religions of the world, the Christian and Mahometan, have been, and ever will remain, essentially Semitic; and there seems no possibility of any change, except a return to the blank atheism of Buddhism and Confucianism, or the development of a scientific agnosticism, or a hopeless, despairing atheism: the former seems improbable, the latter sadly probable.

The time, predestined from the commencement of the world, had come for the throwing down of the barrier betwixt the Jew and the Gentile, and for the manifestation of God, as the Father of all His poor children, and not only of one favoured race, to whom up to this time His oracles had been entrusted. The civilization of the nations who dwelt on the shores of the Middle Sea of the Western World (for the Eastern World of India and China sat apart, until last century, in darkness) had been prepared; and there was a preparation also of the Roman polity, the Greek philosophy, and the Phœnician written character in its three great developments, Hebrew, Greek, and Roman. The Hebrew language might have been sufficient for the spiritual and intellectual wants of one insignificant nation; the lordly languages of Greece and Rome were required for the teaching of races in a higher civilization, and the illumination of the countries west of the Volga and the Euphrates for all time. The Greek language had gone through the great curriculum of poetry, the drama, the schools of philosophy, and the political debates in the Agora. When Alexander the Great defeated Darius at Arbela, Greek had already, in the hands of Plato and Aristotle, been fashioned into a great logical machine, and had become ripe for the reception of the Divine oracles, which had become too vast to be any longer contained in the imperfect receptacle of the vowelless and the grammatically undeveloped Hebrew. The alphabet of the Greek nations was strong in all the details where the Hebrew failed. Here we see the marvellous wisdom of God watching over the preservation of His Word. When the Jews came back from Babylon, they left in that city a large colony, who were in possession of the books of Moses, the poetical books, and some of the prophetic, thus anticipating and guarding against the attacks, which after-ages would bring against the honesty of Ezra, who is charged with crediting Moses with utterances which he never uttered. The rival sect of the Samaritans seem to have been maintained in a profitless existence merely to be additional

witnesses of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, preserved in a different dialect and written character down to our days. To anticipate falsification on the part of the Pharisees and Sadducees of the time of our Lord, the Septuagint translation into Greek had come into existence 150 B.C., the first instance on record of a translation of a large volume from one language into a totally different one. As far as we can judge, the Old Testament is the unique specimen of the Hebrew language of that period. There were few, if any, Gentile Hebrew scholars before the time of Jerome. Greek became the vehicle of the translation of the Old Testament, and supplied the original text of the New. Many Romans studied, and were acquainted with the Greek literature, and there was no need of Latin translations; on the other hand, no one seems to have cared to make translations of the ample stores of Egyptian literature, such as the "Book of the Dead," or of the accumulated learning of the Assyrian, Babylonian, and still more ancient Accadian, libraries. No Greek translations have come down to us of the inscriptions, or literature, of the Cypriote, Hittite, Lycian, and many other minor languages. The Hebrew Old Testament, being at this early period enshrined in Greek, and entrusted to nations who knew no Hebrew, has been thus preserved, so that no one could possibly add to or take from its text, or impugn its genuineness.

The word Greek, as used in the New Testament, no more exclusively means a person, who speaks, or a person who spoke, the Greek language, than the word "Feringhi" in Asia means a "Frenchman." Paul says, "There is no distinction between Jew and Greek:" this means betwixt Jew and Gentile, or, as a Hindu would express it, "between a Hindu and a Mletcha;" and as a Mahometan would express it "between a Mahometan and a Káfir." John in his Gospel mentions that some Greeks desired to see Jesus: these were not Jews, who spoke Greek, of which there were some in Palestine, but *bonâ fide* Gentiles.

But as time went on a second vehicle of speech was required, and was found in the Latin. The Greek language was destined to be childless, to give birth to no great families of new languages, as its two sisters, the Sanskrit and Latin, have done; never entirely dying as a vernacular, for many centuries the Greek was under a cloud, and had ceased to be a vehicle of literature. On the other hand, the Latin language, which differed from it in so much, and yet resembled it in so much more, was selected for a more remarkable destiny, and, as we shall see, for a long period became the faithful depository of the Word of God, guarded, however, from fabrications by the existence of the Greek and several early Asiatic and African versions, and, as regards the Old Testament, by the jealous care of the Jews of their Hebrew text.

Let us pause and thank God. The Roman Catholic Church might have been tempted in the hour of its dogmatic pride, amidst the dense ignorance of the mediæval laity, to alter the Sacred Text; but, bearing in mind the early translations in Syriac, Koptic, Abyssinian, Armenian, Georgian, hid away in unknown regions, and forgotten corners in the heart of Mahometan countries, they dared not. The Greek Church, in its madness for disputation, might have done the same; but the separation of the Latin Church prevented them. The Jews, at the time of our Lord the custodians of the Hebrew text, might have desired to rid themselves of the Messianic prophecies; but the Septuagint stood in their way. The Samaritan Pentateuch was an unwilling testimony to the accuracy of the Hebrew Synagogue rolls. At the time of the return from the Captivity, if Ezra had wished to manipulate the Scriptures to suit the views of the priestly party, how could he have induced the remnant of Israel left at Babylon, who had ceased to care for Canaan and Sion, the Jews scattered like Tobit at Rages and Ekbatana in Media, to fall into his views and alter their MSS. also? The Holy Spirit made use of language as a watchful sentinel on the text of the Scriptures, more faithful and powerful, because the nature of the safeguard was less understood. Manuscripts in uncial and cursive characters of different dates and styles, endorsed on varying material, distinguishable by idiosyncrasies of copyists and prejudices of rival Churches, have survived in scores to testify in these last days to the essential genuineness of the Word, which has come down to us.

Of the old Latin Version little is known with certainty, except that it existed. It is first heard of in the Churches of Africa, before the time of Tertullian; but in the hands of unskilled transcribers it became so changed, that it is uncertain whether there was one leading translation or several distinct versions. Jerome alludes to variations in copies, but Augustine tells us, that the "Itala" is to be preferred to other versions. Manuscripts of the old Latin are in general terms called copies of the *Vetus Itala*; but it cannot be precisely defined, for it is only mentioned by Augustine, and by him only once. Such as exist are of no practical value; but we must always think of these pre-Vulgate versions with tender love, for men and women, notably Perpetua and Felicitas, names to be *perpetually* and *happily* remembered, gave up their lives rather than sacrifice their copies of the Scriptures, thanking God that they were counted worthy to suffer for His Name. Felicitas was a young wife, and was seized with the pangs of labour in the dungeon. When the gaoler heard her groans, he asked her how she would bear on the morrow the agony of being thrown to wild beasts, when she groaned so much under the ordinary trials of women? Her noble reply should live for ever; true nobility is born of tribulation: "It is only I that am

suffering now ; but *then* there will be Another with me, Who will suffer for me, because I also shall be suffering for Him."

It cannot be said, that the *Vetus Latina Africana* was written in vain, and passed away from the lips and eyes of men without leaving some happy names entered in the Book of Life. Later on, in the time of the persecutions of Diocletian, the Bishop of a town near Carthage was called upon to surrender his copy of the old version. He replied, "Better it is that I should be burned than the Scriptures of God," and he suffered death. These things happened for our learning and the strengthening of the hearts of generations to come, and not in vain. We find their echo in the bold words of John of Gaunt, the protector of Wycliffe from a more deadly enemy than the pagan Roman, viz. the Roman Papist : "We will not be the dregs of all, seeing that other nations have the Law of God written in their own language." We find these words interpreted into acts by the Protestant martyrs, who fell two hundred years later in England, going to the stake with the Bible tied round their necks, and in these last days by the young uncivilized, unlearned, weak Christians of the Churches in Madagascar, who would not surrender their Bibles to Giant Pagan ; and later on, even to the time while we are writing, by the nascent Church of Christ in the Society Islands in Oceania, who will not give up their Bible in their own language at the bidding of Giant Pope, only because these islands have passed under the sovereignty of France.

The necessity had arisen for a new and authorized version of the Old Testament in Latin : there was, perhaps, a spark of rivalry in the movement. The Emperor Constantine had legalized Christianity, but he had migrated from Rome to Constantinople, and Greek had again become the vehicle of empire. The New Testament existed in the original inspired Greek, and the Old Testament in the Septuagint, with the authority of a usage of five hundred years, which gave it the weight of inspiration, though it was not alone in the Greek field, as is evidenced by Origen's Hexapla. Damasus, Bishop of Rome in the year A.D. 381, felt the difficult position of the Roman Churches and the danger of unsettled and varying Latin translations, and looked round for a man of learning, industrious, pious, free from heretical bias, yet possessed of critical acumen. Such a man was found in Hieronymus, better known as Jerome, who, after the Apostles, rendered the greatest service to the Western Church that it was possible for man to render. He was born in Dalmatia about A.D. 340, and was old enough to study grammar in A.D. 353, when the last sigh of expiring paganism was breathed by the noble but mistaken Emperor Julian : "Galilean, you have conquered." His parents were orthodox Christians, so he had no hard struggle of conversion to pass through. He finished his education at Rome : it is recorded that he attended



lectures of the Neo-Platonic School, and expended his Sundays in deciphering the inscriptions in the catacombs. He was a great scholar, and a great traveller in Gaul, Germany, Dalmatia, Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria. A serious illness had brought him to God, and he consecrated his talents to the translation of the Scriptures. In the island of Eubœa he adopted the life of a hermit, copying manuscripts and learning Hebrew. He then went to Constantinople to make himself a master of Greek. No such scholar as Jerome appeared until one thousand years later Erasmus was born, and closed the period of the reign of the Vulgate and opened a new era.

Jerome accepted the task imposed upon him by Bishop Damasus. No one was more aware than he was of the necessity of a careful revision of the Latin Bible. He began the work of collation of manuscripts at Rome, and in A.D. 385 he published a revised edition of the New Testament and the Psalms. When Bishop Damasus died, he left Rome and set out for the East. At Antioch he was joined by two Roman ladies, Paula and her daughter Eustochium, who both had learnt Hebrew. They were accompanied by a band of Roman women to found a nunnery in Palestine. Jerome made a tour of Palestine to satisfy himself on Scripture topography. He then went to Egypt to inspect the convent, still existing, in the Nitrian Desert. Here resided the debased, ignorant, and fanatic monks, who under the leadership of Cyril Bishop of Alexandria massacred the beautiful and unfortunate Hypatia, the last teacher of the Neo-Platonic School in Alexandria. Chrysostom was his contemporary at Antioch, and predeceased him, 407. Before he died Jerome heard that the eternal city had been taken and plundered in 410 by Alaric, King of the Goths. The end of the world must have seemed to be at hand. Nothing but the Word of God had any degree of permanence, but even before Jerome commenced his task Ulfilas had translated the New Testament from the Greek into the language of the Goths, as he died A.D. 381, and perhaps may have been comforted by a belief that the Word of God would be honoured when entrusted to the Teutonic race. In the preface to Ezekiel, he writes: "Hæret vox, et singultus interrumpunt verba dictantis. Capitur Urbs, quæ totum cepit orbem:

"Urbs antiqua ruit, multos dominata per annos."

During all his wanderings his thoughts were fixed upon this one subject, and he took the opportunity of discussing moot passages with learned men when he met them; and we can hardly imagine how important this was at a period, when there was no accumulation of commentaries, and not the faintest development of a free press for discussion. On his return to Palestine Paula built four monasteries at Bethlehem, three for nuns and one for monks. Paula presided over the nunneries till she died in A.D. 404, and her daughter Eustochium succeeded her. Jerome lived to an advanced

age and survived both the ladies, and in one of his letters we read how poignant his grief was at their loss, for they were remarkable characters, and sustained him in his high endeavour and in his numerous conflicts, for he was a bitter controversialist, and at one time so provoked his antagonists, that he had to fly from the monastery over which he presided at Bethlehem and conceal himself for two years. He returned to Bethlehem in 418 and died in 420, aged 80 years. Jerome unhappily yielded to the strange fascination of the period of seeking by retirement into a hermitage to escape from the needed discipline of ordinary life; but in his letters to Paulinus he sternly rebukes the increasing folly of seeking sanctity by making pilgrimages: "Let them that say, 'the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord,' listen to the words of the Apostle, 'Ye are the temple of the Lord, and the Holy Spirit dwelleth in thee';" and the famous passage, "Et de Jerosolomis, et de Britannia, æqualiter patet aula cœlestis." We thank the good old man for his prophetic utterance, for that country, of which Jerome had only heard vaguely as the Ultima Thule, was destined in the century after his death to be won to Christ, and, by God's grace upon the love of the British nation for the Bible, to become the centre of the evangelization of the world, carrying the Gospel in its own proper vernacular to regions which Cæsar never knew, and fulfilling the prophecy, "The isles shall obey Thy law."

Here he translated the Old Testament from the Hebrew original with the aid of Jewish scholars, who came to him secretly for fear of their co-religionists. The result of his labours at Rome was a revision of the New Testament, and at Bethlehem a new translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, viz. the famous Vulgate. No doubt the text became very corrupt in the Middle Ages, changes being made by copyists under the influence of older translations. It must be recollected, that Jerome had collected all existing early Latin translations of the New Testament, and the best Greek manuscripts. He separated the inspired books from other books, and struck out the Apocrypha as having no Hebrew original. It required no small nerve to accomplish his task: it was no small matter for Jerome to abandon the Greek text of the Old Testament, sometimes, though not always quoted by the Apostles and Evangelists in the New Testament and read in the Churches, and commented upon by the early Fathers. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, a younger man, but a correspondent of Jerome, who had freed himself from Manichæism and Neo-Platonism, thought the experiment a dangerous one. He was informed by the great translator, that the Church had already abandoned the Septuagint, and used the text of Origen, which contains additions made by the Jews, Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, because the Septuagint had gradually in the first centuries of the Church been degraded by mistakes and additions. The Jews had always had

their Hebrew originals to check the tide of growing errors, but the Christians had nothing to prevent glosses creeping in or phrases being manipulated. Origen's Hexapla had partially added to the sources of error, for, as few cared to copy the Hexapla *in toto*, they entered the variations gleaned from it in the margin of their own copies of the Septuagint with the usual result. To the stolid conservative, who prefers quiet error to emendations, which must cause anxiety, Cyprian's remark applies as well now as in his own time, "Custom without truth is the decrepitude of error." The Church of England of the nineteenth century has not much ground for throwing stones at the contemporaries of Jerome, as it still uses in the Prayer Book a version of the Psalms pronounced inaccurate by two companies of revisers at the interval of two centuries.

The favourite argument against Jerome's Vulgate was much of the same kind as is urged now: "It is better to adhere to false translation than disturb the peace of the Church and the foundations of faith." Church and faith so called were put against, and preferred before, eternal truth. "Populus vult decipi, et decipiatur." Usage hallows errors. Only a few could see the importance of having access to the purest possible text, and the most accurate possible translation. Truth triumphed at last, and always will, and some of us may live to see the disuse of the Psalms in the Anglican Prayer Book. Gradually the Vulgate supplanted the old versions, many of which have bodily disappeared. Africa clung to the old version till the day of her opportunity had passed and her candlestick was removed. The Venerable Bede in the eighth century had adopted the Vulgate in England.

The influence, which the Vulgate exercised upon Western Christianity, is not less than that of the Septuagint on the Eastern Churches. Both versions have been in later times unjustly neglected and reviled, though the share which they took in preserving the Scriptures up to the age of the revival of learning in the fifteenth century can scarcely be overrated: they were the bulwarks of the Western and Eastern Churches for centuries. The Vulgate was for one thousand years the only Bible used, and the real parent of all the vernacular versions of Western Europe except the Gothic version of Ulfilas. From the point of language, it is interesting to record that the Vulgate held the fort until the magnificent crop of Neo-Arian languages in Western Europe was matured, and ready for the reception of the oracles of God. We have copies of the Vulgate in our libraries, with Saxon and Irish glosses written interlinearly, so that we know what manner of form of speech existed in Great Britain in the eighth and ninth centuries. Neither Bede's translation (A.D. 735) nor Wycliffe's (A.D. 1324-1384) were fit to be the conquering angels of the everlasting Gospel, which it was the happy lot of the English Bible of a few centuries later to become. God's wheels grind slowly, but very fine, and the fulness of time had to

be waited for in the use of languages. The Vulgate is also the source of our current theological terminology, and an important witness to the text and interpretation at the time of the translation. The words "Vulgata Editio" are synonymous with *κοινή ἔκδοσις* in Greek, and "current text" in English. As the monument of the power of a translator from a Semitic language into an Arian, at a period of linguistic knowledge, when few men knew both languages, the translation of the Old Testament is so far unique, that we have no other specimen that can be compared to it. The New Testament had indeed been translated from the Arian Greek into the Semitic Syriac by men of Antioch, who were bilinguists, living in the midst of a bilingual population. In the same manner the Hellenized Jews at Alexandria had translated their sacred books from their dead sacred language, which they had studied, into the Greek, which they spoke, at a much earlier date. But Jerome's work compares more closely with the labours of missionaries like Carey, and Morrison, and Eliot, and many others, who acquired a strange vernacular first, and then rendered a book from the dead languages into this new and unadapted vehicle of thought. But Jerome was still at a great disadvantage when compared with the modern translator, who always has on his table critical helps to assist him to the interpretation, linguistic helps in the way of grammars and dictionaries to bring out the meaning, and, lastly, his own English version standing as arbitrator betwixt the inspired originals and the imperfectly handled vernacular. Jerome had nothing.

The Vulgate was unduly venerated by the Church of Rome, and in consequence its value was unduly depreciated by the Protestants. It is a faithful translation, and sometimes (notably Rev. xxii. 14) exhibits the sense of the original with greater accuracy than our Authorized Version. Jerome had access to manuscripts older than any now existing, and supplies an approximation of readings now lost in the original. The work was completed before many of the theological controversies, which disgraced the second period of Christianity, came into existence. That the Council of Trent was madly foolish in giving to the Vulgate its *Imprimatur*, absolute and unconditional, cannot be doubted; but it is manifest that it was the only version, which a majority of Churches, which clung to Rome, would acknowledge at that time. As finally accepted, it differed from the original translation of Jerome, in that it included the Psalms of the old version, only revised by Jerome, and not translated from the Hebrew, and some apocryphal books, which Jerome did not include in his version at all. We must recollect the circumstances of the time, when we sit in judgment upon the leaders who led the Council of Trent on to its unwise and fatal decision. The Protestant Churches were tearing up all the landmarks of theology, as then received, by their new vernacular versions, and the inter-

pretation placed upon newly-revealed texts. The Church of Rome, had it been guided by the Holy Spirit, might have recognized the signs of the times, and employed scholars of repute, such as Erasmus, to revise the text, correct the translation, and bring the Vulgate up to the level of contemporary knowledge, as we have been doing in England with our Revised English Version. If the new text and translation destroyed some dogma based on error, so much the worse for the dogma. Throw it over the side of the ship. This meant reformation of errors, and the discontinuance of some of the favourite vices of the Church of Rome, celibacy of the priesthood, worship of images, doing penance, ritual in a foreign language, transubstantiation, purgatory, masses, etc., and the Church of Rome had become hopelessly hardened in her evil unscriptural system. Although the Latin language had in the natural course of time ceased to be understood by the laity, in its stupidity and blindness, and utterly mistaken view of the object and nature of true worship in spirit and truth, Rome clung to the mediæval conception of uniformity of usage and unity of worship, and refused to allow the vernaculars to approach the altar. *This is a sure test of a false religious conception.* The policy then adopted by Rome had been adopted long before by the Hindu, Buddhist, and Mahometan. In the dark hours of the Middle Ages there was no prohibition of glosses, or versions, or Scripture narratives for private edification, generally metrical, or artificially made up; but with the revival of learning and the Reformation, Rome became aware of the wide gulf between the Scripture and her practice. The Bible had become an instrument of righteous attack in the hands of her enemies. No inquiry was made whether the books included by usage in their Scriptures were inspired. It was blindly decreed that the Vulgate was the only Bible, the entire Vulgate, and nothing but the Vulgate. On that rock the Church of Rome must sooner or later be wrecked, for the letter kills, and the spirit gives life. "Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat." At one time it was demanded by the Theological Faculty of Mayence that a total revision and correction of the Hebrew Old Testament should be made on the grounds that it differed from the Vulgate. The folly of the Roman Catholic Church could go no further than this: the attempt was not made. The Hebrew text still condemns the Vulgate.

Other versions of the Scripture appeared in Latin: 1. Erasmus published the New Testament 1516, at Basel, eleven hundred years after the death of Jerome. 2. Pagninus at Lyons in 1528. 3. Cardinal Cajetan in 1530. 4. Munster in 1534. 5. Leo Judæ in 1534. 6. Castello in 1551. 7. Junius and Tremellius in 1575. 8. Malvenda in 1650. 9. Schmid in 1696. 10. Henbigaut in 1753. 11. Dathe in 1773. And others of a later date, and of a decreasing importance: in fact modern Latin translations are absolutely valueless.

None ever came in comparison with the Vulgate, or were of any practical value for the conversion of souls. Copies of the Vulgate spread over Western Europe, some prepared in the most costly manner, as may be seen in the treasure house or the library of many Roman Catholic foreign cathedrals or convents. In this lay the difficulty of substantially amending the text, as who was prepared to pay the vast expense of collating the copies scattered all over Europe, the hazard of offending all by the compilation of a new text, the difficulty of supplying the copies of the amended text, and the still greater difficulty of enforcing compliance with the order to use the text only? In A.D. 802, after a lapse of four centuries from the time of Jerome, the text had been revised by Alcuin, under the orders of Charlemagne. This helped to preserve its purity. In A.D. 1455 it was the first book printed and published. Although A.D. 1546 the Council of Trent declared, that the then existing Vulgate was the sole authorized version of the Bible, in 1589 a new edition appeared under the authority of Pope Sixtus V., and in 1592 this version was further revised by Pope Clement VIII. Two infallible Popes issued rival editions of the same inspired book; and thus the story of the Vulgate ends. Another incidental solid advantage accrued from its existence, that it proves the substantial identity of the Hebrew text used by Jerome and the Masoretic text in use to this day.

Whatever English Roman Catholic priests may say to the contrary, the desire of the Church of Rome has for many centuries been to hide the Scriptures from the eyes of the people. It is clear, that in early centuries the Latin Churches yearned for copies of the Scriptures in their own vernacular, and the Head of the Church of Rome took counsel to secure a revised text on a level with the learning and requirements of the age. Such is not the Roman policy now. As the chemist places his dangerous ingredients out of the reach of the public, and only supplies them under the prescription of the competent and authorized physician, so the Romish Priesthood, deeming the vernacular Bible dangerous, forbid it to the laity except under the conditions laid down by themselves. This is no new claim. I supply a catena of Papal dicta on the subject.

Gregory VII., Hildebrand, in 1080 A.D., replies to the Duke of Bohemia :

Non immerito sacram Scripturam Omnipotenti Deo placuisse *quibusdam locis esse occultam*, ne, si ad liquidum cunctis pateret, forte vilesceret, et subjaceret despectui, aut pravè intellecta a mediocribus et in errorem induceret.

Gregory IX., in 1229 A.D., wrote :

Prohibemus, ne libros Veteris Testamenti aut Novi *laici permittentur habere*, nisi forte Psalterium, sed ne prætermisissos libros habeant in *vulgari lingua* artissimè prohibemus.

In 1546 there follows the Council of Trent Rule VI., which I give in English :

Inasmuch as it is manifest from experience that, if the Holy Bible translated in the vulgar tongue be indiscriminately allowed to every one, the temerity of man will cause more evil than good to arise from it, it is on this point referred to the judgment of the Bishop, or inquisitor, who may by the advice of the priest-confessor permit the reading of the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue by Catholic authors, and this permission they must have in writing. But if any one should have the presumption to read, or possess it, without such written permission, he shall not receive absolution until he shall have first delivered up such Bible to the Ordinary. Any bookseller who shall sell, or otherwise dispose of, Bibles in the vulgar tongue to any person not having such permission, shall forfeit the value of the books, to be applied by the Bishop to some pious use, and be subjected to penalties.

Benedict XIV., 1757, somewhat relaxed this :

Quod si hujusmodi librorum versiones vulgari linguâ sint ab Apostolicâ sede approbatæ, aut editæ cum annotationibus desumptis ex sanctis Ecclesiæ patribus, vel ex doctis, Catholicisque viris conceduntur.

Finally, in the Rules of the Index we find :

Ad extremum omnibus fidelibus præcipitur, ne quis audeat contra harum regularum præscripta, aut hujus Indicis prohibitiones libros aliquos habere aut legere. Quod si quis libros hæreticorum vel scripta ob hæresiam, vel falsi dogmatis suspicionem damnata atque prohibita legerit sive habuerit, statim, in excommunicationis sententiam incurret. Biblia sacra eorum (hæreticorum) operâ impressa, vel eorum annotationibus, argumentis, summariis, scholiis et indicibus aucta, sunt inclusa.

In 1713 Clement XI. issued the Bull "Unigenitus," and condemned Pasquier Quesnel's French translation of the Vulgate in such terms as finally to lay down unmistakably, *that the Scriptures were shut out from the people.*

In 1816, June 29th, Pius VII. denounced the British and Foreign Bible Society "as a crafty device, by which the foundations of Religion are undermined, and a defilement of the Faith most universally dangerous to souls. No version of the Bible in the vulgar tongue is to be permitted except as above stated."

The same Pope in 1816, September 3rd, prescribed that "if the Holy Bible in the vulgar tongue was permitted everywhere without discrimination, more injury than benefit would thence arise."

In 1824 Leo XII. issued an Encyclical letter, urging all his subordinates, by all means in their power, to keep the people from reading the Scriptures, and giving his sanction to the Bulls of his predecessors against the circulation and reading of the word of God, which *he calls the Gospel of the devil.* I quote his words :

You are not ignorant that the Bible Society is stalking through the world, which, condemning the tradition of the Fathers, and contrary to the Council of Trent, is lending all its strength, and by every means to translate the Bible in the vulgar language of all nations, or rather *to pervert it*; whence it is greatly to be feared lest, as in some versions already known, so in others, by a perverse interpretation, instead of the Gospel of Christ, it should become the Gospel of man, or, what is worse, the Gospel of the devil.

In 1844 Gregory XVI. strongly enforced the Encyclical letter of Pius VIII. :

We confirm and renew the decrees delivered in former time by Apostolic Authority against the publication, distribution, reading, and possession of the Holy Scriptures translated in the vulgar tongue.

You are consequently enjoined to remove from the hands of the faithful the Bibles in the vulgar tongue, which may have been printed contrary to the decrees above mentioned.

All these decrees breathe a determined and unmitigated hatred to the Bible, and a desire to dishonour it in the eyes of the people, as it is placed in the same index with nauseous and obscene publications.

In 1840 the Bishop of Bruges, in Belgium, described the British and Foreign Bible Society as a "society hostile to God and the Holy Church. The Church holds heretical Bibles in abhorrence, and utterly detests them."

In 1844, in the presence of Archbishop Hale, of Tuam, Ireland, a friar preached as follows :

Any person who practises the reading of the Bible will inevitably fall into everlasting damnation. Do not allow the Bible-readers near your homes; do not speak to them; when you meet put up your hands, and bless yourself, and pray to God and the Virgin Mary to keep you from *being contaminated by the poison of the Bible*. The worst of all pestilences, the infectious pestilence of the Bible, will entail on yourselves and children the everlasting ruin of your souls. Those who send their children to school where the Scriptures are read *give their children bound with chains to the devil*.

In 1849, Pius IX., the predecessor of the present Pope, addressed an Encyclical letter to the Bishops of Italy, in which he reiterates the condemnation of the Bible-Societies, and represents "the Bible, when translated into the vulgar tongue, and issued without Catholic comments, as poisonous."

In 1864 appeared the Syllabus, in which Bible-Societies are placed in the same category with secret societies and Socialists.

Thus the holy work of good old Jerome, which had been commenced so auspiciously and lasted so long, has become the snare and curse of the Roman Church. Science advances, and the thoughts of men grow broader with the progress of the sun; just when the Renaissance of Literature was bringing new light, the Council of Trent galvanized the poor Vulgate into a cast-iron reservoir of the errors of thirty generations of copyists, who were denied access for the purpose of periodical verification to the Greek or Latin or early Asiatic and African versions. A more sad mistake was never made. The folly of the Mahometans in not allowing the Koran in the Turkish language is as nothing to it; in India, however, the Koran is appearing in the vernacular, and in diglott editions.

Gradually the Church of Rome allowed translations, with notes, to be made from the Vulgate into the vernaculars of Europe, and



the ubiquity of the agents of the Bible-Societies has compelled them to go forward. It may be accepted as a fact, until the contrary be proved, that no attempt was made deliberately to tamper with the text of the Vulgate by the Roman Church, nor, considering the wide spread of manuscript copies in libraries, convents, churches and private houses in every part of Europe, was it possible, as it had been used for centuries in independent countries, and by quasi-independent churches. According to all experience of manuscripts, secular or religious, corruptions come in the very process of transcription; the copyists of those ages had no conception of the fiduciary duty of their office; glosses and marginal notes were insensibly incorporated in the text of the new copy; corrections were made in the supposed interest of grammar and style, especially in parallel passages of the Gospels. When translations came to be made in the vernacular of particular Churches, as a general rule they were faithful renderings of the Vulgate, but not always. I have only to allude to the Bordeaux version in the French language made by the Jesuits in 1685 to cajole the French Protestants, who, by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, were at the mercy of their persecutors; copies of this book are rare, but still in existence. No doubt there is always the possibility of unscrupulous religionists, who place their Church and dogma above truth, attempting such shameless forgeries again, but exposure must soon follow.

In all the essentials of the Christian verities, and the saving truths of the Gospel of Christ, certain versions issued under the authority of the Church of Rome are sound; and this compels me to allude to a controversy, which is disturbing one tiny corner of the Evangelical section of the Protestant Churches of England at this moment. The priests of the Romish Church positively forbid the use by their flocks of the versions made in certain languages of Europe, French, Spanish, Portuguese, German, and Polish, and distributed by the British and Foreign Bible Society. That Society has no love for versions, which have the imprimatur of Romish bishops; but the value of a soul is not to be weighed in a human balance; and the possibility of bringing the Word of God into contact with the conscience of man is not to be limited by red-tape rules, and the great Bible Society of London, seeing that the Roman Catholic flocks are permitted by their bishops to purchase and possess certain authorized translations of the Bible, supply them, and they are greedily purchased, and greatly blessed in their use. I wish not to speak hardly of those, who would deny wholesome bread to starving Christians, because it is not of the finest flour, and who would let their children pine with hunger, because they are by the foolish rules of their family not permitted to partake of the pure unadulterated cocoa, which is the only diet which narrow-minded enthusiasts can tolerate. There is abundant

evidence of the blessings, which have attended the circulation of these Vulgate translations, and a strong protest from sincere Protestants would be evoked by any attempt arbitrarily to stop the supply: when they cease to be called for, the Society will cease to send them, and having done their work, they will drop out of circulation.

The inspired Word of God in the Hebrew and Greek has never, in its long course, been other than an unmixed blessing to mankind. Words are but coins to represent ideas, sentences are but capsules to enclose an opinion or statement. The inspired Word of God, always fresh, always clear, makes itself always intelligible to the prayerful spirit. I think poorly of the zeal or ability of any minister of the Gospel, who has not made himself familiar with the Hebrew and Greek. A translation is something essentially different. Let us take the highest instances, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and our own Revised Version: the translators were honest, and learned up to the level of their epoch, but their renderings only express the eternal Word in the transitory conception of their own age and country, and general turn of thought. The intellect, which has coined the translation, the hand that engrosses it, is human, nothing but human; the language, which they use, is the vernacular of their age, and the danger is that a false halo will surround their errors, and a false sentiment be engendered to perpetuate the so-called eccentric beauties of the style, the majestic flow of the words, not reflected from the original. We see it painfully in our own beautiful, and flexible, and constantly changing form of speech. What right have we to cling to erroneous word-renderings and avowedly interpolated sentences (such as the last words of the Lord's Prayer, the words of Philip to the eunuch, and the heavenly witnesses) because we learnt them from the lips of our mothers? Let us go back more to the original texts, if we care more for rhythm, or beauty of expression, and be content with the matter contained in the translation, for the form of words used is only a transitory human conception; that which suited the time of Queen Elizabeth is antiquated in the time of Queen Victoria, but the matter contained is always the same, whether expressed in English, Arabic, Hindustáni, or Maori. Translations are a necessity of the stream of time, and the ever-changing word-moulds of succeeding generations. We should have holy strength each century to free ourselves from the yoke of the linguistic interpretations of our ancestors, and bathe fresh and fresh in the river of crystal, the pure Word of God, as delivered to holy men of old, and handed down to us, and children still to be born, in their *ipsissima verba*.

And not only from the linguistic interpretation, but from the narrow interpretation of the meaning of the words. The writers of the Old Testament wrote with no knowledge beyond the horizon of the Jewish people; the translators of the Septuagint had an

Alexandrine bias with a possible admixture of Platonism. The Apostles and the Greek Fathers had their human intelligence restricted to the Shores of the Eastern Mediterranean. The Roman fathers could see nothing beyond the bounds of the decaying Roman Empire. We are in a fuller light with the inhabitants of the whole world, all equally the children of God, for all of whom Christ died, revealed to us and with a correcter text, and more accurate translations, are in a better position to arrive at a sounder judgment. We look with pity on the narrow views of the Procrustean bed of the Roman Church, and the crass ignorance of the weak Oriental Churches; and we cannot but feel that the power of elucidation of a text is now at a higher level. No one can have had the opportunity of following a text from the Hebrew to the Septuagint and the Vulgate, and thence to one or two of the cultivated vernaculars of Europe, and then extended his comparison to some of the many languages of India, and the great Semitic language of Arabic, without feeling that new lights are thrown upon the meaning of the inspired original, as each faithful translator struck his hammer on the anvil, which gave forth a different, and yet similar, sound. How much better is this than the commentary based on mediæval fallacies, repeating platitudes of previous generations, grasping no new aspects of the eternal truth. The Holy Spirit still dwells among men, vindicating the right of private judgment on a matter affecting individual salvation, after sufficient and prayerful reading and inquiry, and with a humble, undogmatic and chastised frame of mind, seeking illumination from the only quarter in which it is to be found, not infallibility, but a spiritual discernment, and harmony with the Spirit of God.

No one body of Christians, calling itself "The Church," can be allowed to stand betwixt the Word of God and the Covenant of Man, and to lay down dogmatically, that such and such must be the interpretation of a Scripture-Text, because centuries ago certain persons, less qualified to form an opinion than the men of this generation, said that it was so: nor can this generation pretend that the men of the next generation may not use the same liberty: it has been well put by an American association:

"The recognition of philological and historical laws as the sole human methods for discovering of the facts of the Word, from which facts alone the inductions and deductions are to be made. All other methods, such as *by tradition, by authority, by the moral sense, by the ethical nature of man, by natural laws so called, by reason, by the Christian consciousness, by any mystical inner light, whether used as explanatory or as complementary, or both combined, are to be rejected as unscientific.*"

THE CHURCHMAN, MAY, 1890.

## CHAPTER III.—FRENCH TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

Finality in translation is not to be attained, at least, in this generation. Of the great European languages, not one has settled the form, in which the inspired text of the Hebrew and Greek is to be placed before the unlearned. English is still on the anvil. I received lately a prospectus of a proposed translation in the vulgar tongue, such as people ordinarily speak, and newspapers write. In Germany Luther's translation is undergoing revision. In Holland, Italy, Spain, and Portugal new translations are in progress. Considering how much hidden meaning is extracted from the original, which is not patent on the surface, it may probably end in a plurality of translations obtaining a currency, which, from one point of view, though not every point of view, is to be regretted. Other causes are at work. An edition of the English New Testament is threatened with distinct utterance on the Baptist question, and the words "John the Dipper" and "total immersion" will take the place of "Baptist" and "Baptism." In the French versions we have variation in the rendering of the word "priest" in the New Testament as applied to the officers of the Christian Church; "sacrificateur" in the one case, and "prêtre" in the other. This brings me back to the direct subject of my essay.

The French language is spoken in the greater part of France, in Belgium, in Switzerland, in a certain portion of Italy; in the Channel Islands, the Island of Mauritius, and a portion of Canada in the British Empire; in Louisiana of the United States, and in the French colonies in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, as part of their colonial system is to introduce the French language into schools.

As early as the twelfth century A.D. attempts were made in France to translate the Scriptures into the vernacular, and publish books of Scripture History. About 1530 A.D. a version of the entire Scriptures was published at Antwerp by Jacobus Faber, Stapulensis; this went through editions and reprints, and held its own. Other independent translations were made in Switzerland and France; but two superseded all the rest, and are used to this day. De Sacy and other Port Royalists made a new version of the New Testament from the Vulgate, and it was printed by the Elzevirs at Amsterdam, 1667 A.D. Being thrown into prison by the Jesuits, he translated the Old Testament in prison, and finished his work on the eve of his liberation, 1668 A.D. This was considered the most perfect version in the French language. In 1724 Ostervald revised the translation made at Geneva in 1588; he was a Lutheran pastor. Both of these last two, revised over and over again, are now circulated by the Society for

Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the British and Foreign Bible Society. De Sacy's version is preferred by Roman Catholics, and, I regret to say, is still circulated with a recommendatory Imprimatur of a French Archbishop, which, considering that the feeling of the Romish Church has been greatly altered on the subject, and that the version has been somewhat modified, is to be regretted. The Word of God requires no recommendation from priest or king, Church or Parliament. They exist through it; it will continue to exist long after they have passed away.

Neither of the versions in use gave entire satisfaction; far from it. Some objected to the version of De Sacy, because it was from the Vulgate, and inaccurately called a Roman Catholic translation; others objected to Ostervald because of the inferiority of its style. It is noteworthy that in the first verse of John's Gospel De Sacy uses the word "Verbe" for *Λόγος*, and Ostervald "Parole."

In 1873 Dr. Louis Segond published his entirely new translation of the whole Bible from Hebrew and Greek at Lausanne, in Switzerland. In the preface he gives in detail his reasons and his principles. The chief reason was, that the Geneva translation, which was the household treasure of the Swiss Churches, was not from the original texts, but from the Vulgate; that it had been repeatedly revised, but was still far from perfect; in fact, the same reason led him to make an entirely new translation, which had led Jerome centuries earlier to make his celebrated translation, known as the Vulgate. His principles of translation were exactness, clearness, and accuracy, with a good literary style and a religious turn of expression. If his translation upset any preconceived dogma, he could not help it; *so much the worse for the dogma*. A correct translation rests on a philological, not a theological, basis. The division into chapters and verses is dispensed with; the figures indicative of both appear in the margin to facilitate reference. The notes are philological; the poetic writings are printed in a manner totally distinct from the prose, upon a principle carefully explained by the translator. The result is a translation of a most fascinating character, and which has met with a most favourable reception. As long as Dr. Segond lived, he allowed no changes to be made, but since his death this has become possible. As it has never been authoritatively accepted by any Protestant Church, the British and Foreign Bible Society have been unable to place it on their lists; and another and more formidable reason for not adopting it is the startling novelty of some of its translations. Take, for instance, Isaiah vii. 14, "A virgin shall conceive," etc., is rendered, "*Voici la jeune femme* deviendra enceinte," etc. No doubt the word used in this passage in the Hebrew original is not the regular word for a "virgin" used elsewhere, and susceptible of the translation made by Segond; but the Septuagint, written 150 years before Christ, has fixed for ever

the interpretation adopted by the Jews: *ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται*. Such a translation cannot be accepted until it has been carefully revised, and purged of such novelties, shaking the very foundation of our faith, and running counter to long and deeply-cherished opinions.

Thus the translations available in French-speaking countries were three: De Sacy, Ostervald, and Segond. A version by Martin, a predecessor of Ostervald, is still on the list, but is of no practical value.

A new translation of the Psalms was published by Abbé Crampon in Belgium; in the Preface he expresses his regret at the neglect, in which *private* reading of the Scriptures had fallen, and he hopes that his new translation will restore the Psalter to its old place beside the Gospel in every Christian family: one edition is published with the Latin Text and Philological Notes for the Clergy, and educated laity: one for Nuns, and the faithful generally, with spiritual and moral notes.

In 1885 the Rev. John Nelson Darby, the founder of Plymouthitism, published an entirely new version, not following the *Textus Receptus*, as the translator has made use of the materials, which have become known or made available during recent years. I have placed a copy of this version in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

To the surprise of the religious world, a new translation appeared in 1877, and in July, 1884, in the issue of the *Missions Catholiques*, the Roman Catholic weekly published at Lyons, appeared the following, headed "La Sainte Bible":

*Traduction nouvelle avec notes, approuvée par la commission d'examen nommée par le Souverain Pontife, par M. l'Abbé Glaire, ancien Doyen de la Faculté de théologie. 4 volumes in 18 brochés: 10 fr.*

Il manquait aux familles catholiques une Bible *sûre et autorisée*. M. l'Abbé Glaire, en publiant cette traduction à laquelle il s'était préparé par plus de quarante années d'une étude continue des langues et de la science biblique, a largement comblé cette lacune.

Ajoutons qu'à la demande signée de cinquante-cinq évêques, le Souverain Pontife a daigné nommer une commission d'examen, qui accordé à cette nouvelle version sa haute approbation. D'un format *portatif* et élégant, ornée de jolies gravures sur acier, cette Bible sera un des cadeaux les mieux appropriés aux personnes chrétiennes.

I sent for a copy and reviewed it as follows in the monthly periodical of the British and Foreign Bible Society:

In a late number of the *Missions Catholiques*, the weekly organ of French Roman Catholic Missions, appeared a notice strongly recommending the faithful to supply themselves with a copy of the French translation of the whole Bible, lately made by l'Abbé J. B. Glaire, and published under the special sanction of the French Episcopate, and the written authorization of Pope Pius IX.

On July 5th, 1870, the assembled Bishops of France addressed the Pope to this effect:

"Profoundly afflicted to see the Protestants supplying Catholic families with Bibles to an alarming extent, and exerting in this way a great influence by

“ lowering in their eyes our holy dogmas, and attracting children to their schools, the assembled Bishops, desirous of arresting so great an evil, petition your Holiness to examine the French translation of the Old Testament, made by l’Abbé Glaire, and give it your imprimatur.

“ One cannot doubt, that this will be a powerful means of arresting the progress of the evil, experience having already proved, that the publication of the New Testament by the same author, and previously authorized by your Holiness, has produced most salutary fruits.

“ It is incontestable, that nothing in *the present time can prevent the reading of the entire Bible* in the world. Is it not, then, a great advantage to substitute a faithful and authorized version to translations which are incorrect, and which have no ecclesiastical approbation ?

“ In short, a French Bible, authorized by the Pope, will deprive the Protestants of all pretext for accusing *unjustly* the Catholic Church of cutting off the faithful from the Word of God.”

The Pope, on January 22nd, 1873, after an interval of two years and a half authorized the proposal on these conditions :

- I. The version is to be an exact translation of the Latin Vulgate.
- II. Nothing in it is to be contrary to faith or morals.
- III. The notes are to be taken from the Fathers of the Church, or from learned Catholics, under the decree of the Congregation of the Index.
- IV. The license now given to the French Bishops is not to be deemed as a formal and solemn approbation of the French translation.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux declared, on March 4th, 1873 : “ That the translation made by M. Glaire was a correct rendering of the Latin Vulgate, and that he and the Bishops were convinced, that it would be of great use to the faithful, and that it would with advantage replace all translations previously existing, for the correctness of which there was not the same guarantee.” The Archbishop of Paris expressed similar opinions. The Archbishop of Bruges added the following remarks : “ That the Latin text was interpreted when required by the original text (Hebrew), and accompanied by the explicatory notes, as required by the Council of Trent. He considered this new version more faithful than most of the French versions, and satisfying the requirement, long felt in France, of a sure and authorized translation, which can be put without danger into the hands of the faithful.”

The translator modestly tells us, that he had prepared himself for the duty by forty years’ study, and that he approached the difficult task with great diffidence. He had wished to make use of the translation of Sacy, but found that Sacy was a paraphraser rather than a translator. He could have nothing to say to the translation of Genoude, which did not adhere to the Latin Vulgate, but abandoned it *occasionally for the Hebrew and Greek.*

He had tried to make use of the translations of Bishop Bossuet, but found that, notwithstanding all his erudition, Bossuet was ignorant of Hebrew, which he (the translator) *deemed indispensable for Scripture exegesis !*

He had rendered, where possible, word for word, with a view to preserve the admirable simplicity of the Bible, to imitate the example of Jerome, who made his version a literal one, and so evidence his respect for the Word of God. He wished his translation to preserve all the linguistic peculiarities of the Hebrew and Greek.

All the remarks of the translator indicate patient research and humility. He quotes, perhaps unnecessarily, a number of opinions of competent critics and Protestant divines, in favour of the excellence of the Latin Vulgate. There is no question of the extreme value of that venerable translation, which clearly points to the existence of Hebrew texts, which were available to Jerome, but have since perished.

It was the Latin Vulgate, that converted Luther and Melancthon ; and if M. Glaire’s is a faithful literal version of the Vulgate, the Holy Spirit will use it for

new conquests. All that Protestants ask is, that the Bible should have free course in the language understood by the people; and the great charge against the Church of Rome is, that it would not allow this, and against the ignorant priesthood of countries in a lower state of civilization than France, that they destroyed the Bible when it came into their hands and called it "a cursed book." It will be observed, that the Romish Church do not permit a Bible to be published in any vernacular without notes, and these notes are to be quotations from the works of Church authorities. Anyhow, the whole Bible, translated from the Latin Vulgate, has now become accessible to every Frenchman who can afford ten francs. It is the conscientious work of a learned ecclesiastic, who fortified himself in his translations by reference to the Hebrew and Greek.

But a greater surprise was in store. In 1886, at Paris, was published a book with the title: "Les Saintes Evangiles, traduction nouvelle par Henri Lasserre, publiée avec l'Imprimatur de l'Archevêché de Paris."

In the "Monthly Reporter of the British and Foreign Bible Society" of April, 1887, appeared the following remark:

Its interest to the friends of the Bible Society lies in this, that it chronicles another effort on the part of members of the Roman Catholic Church body to supply themselves with the documents of the faith in the vernacular, with which efforts the Society has always sympathized; and, moreover, by the quotation of the exact words of the Paris correspondent, it gives to Protestants an interesting view of current French Roman Catholic opinion in the circles, in which the mere *littérateur* moves. It is a strange thing to observe, that the Bible, and all that concerns the history of the Bible, though lying in the main road of human progress, is every now and then "discovered" by some Frenchman or Italian, as if it were a new thing, and announced to the world with much flourish, as if Diodati, and Martini, and Olivétan, and Osterwald, and Valéra, and Scio had never lived at all.

The book had then passed through nine editions, but a strange romance was destined to surround this version.

It is dedicated to "Notre Dame de Lourdes," described as the "Reine du Ciel," and the healer of the translator's blindness. The same author, who undertook with success the translation of the Four Gospels, had already written the history of the Greatest Lie of the Century, the Imposture at Lourdes, which in 1881 I visited, and an account of the visions seen by the poor peasant girl Bernadette, to whom the Virgin is said to have appeared. It must be recollected, that this new cultus is not of the Virgin Mother with her Holy Child in her arms, which originated as an assertion of the great truth of the congenital Divinity of our Lord, but it is the worship of a beautiful young woman, as she appeared before the Holy Ghost overshadowed her; it is, in fact, the reappearance in Christian form of the old worship of Lucina, and other female divinities of the Latin races in pre-Christian times.

The translation is preceded by a long preface, with the dates 1872-1886 attached to it. On the title-page is the notice: "Publiée avec l'Imprimatur de l'Archevêché de Paris." The names of publishers at Paris, Brussels, and Geneva are attached to it, and the following notice of it appeared in a Roman Catholic journal under



date December 4, 1886, explaining its objects, methods, and peculiar features :

This translation of the Gospels, which contains the germs of a religious revolution, has been made after a new method. All the French versions that we have are a copy (*décalque*) of the Latin, Latin Frenchified, Latin words translated into French words, but by no means participating in the genius of the French language. So that the translations make the Scriptures illegible and often incomprehensible.

The great mass of the faithful do not know Latin, and can only read the Gospels in the French translation. As M. Lasserre says in his preface, "Most of the faithful only know of the Divine Book fragments reproduced in the *Paroissien* (Prayer-book), without logical or chronological order, in the Mass for festivals and Sundays; we believe we do not exaggerate," he adds, "in stating that there are not perhaps on an average three Catholics (*fidèles*) in each parish, who have got beyond that vague notion, and who even once in their whole lives have endeavoured to follow and study in its harmonious whole, and in the quadruple form given it by the Evangelists, the complete history of the Man-God. What an astonishing and painful contrast! while continuing to be the most illustrious book in the whole world, the Gospel has become an ignored book."

One can indeed say, that the French are not acquainted with the Gospel; it is for them a dead book, of which they have read a few fragments, which they did not understand or which they found wearisome. So that their religious instruction and their religious education are second-hand, and their religious feelings are not drawn from the fountain source. Hence that deformation of religion of which the bishops have often complained, without being able to remedy it, because the number of those, who are not content with the coal-heaver's faith, and who like to discuss religious questions, is becoming greater and greater, and they are completely ignorant of the Gospel.

Now, without paraphrasing the text, but without translating it servilely, by translating it so, that the genius of the French language shall take the place of the genius of the Latin language, instead of being in that chopped, hopping, rebus-like style, which characterizes all existing translations, M. Lasserre has made of the Gospel a book, which any one can read readily, understand and admire.

The distribution of the Gospel into chapters dates from the thirteenth century, and was the work of Cardinal Hugues de St. Victor; and the division into verses was only introduced in the sixteenth century by the celebrated Parisian printer, R. Estienne (Robert Stephen).

"By transferring to the translations in the vulgar tongue," says M. Lasserre in his preface, "these divisions of the printer Estienne; by introducing into the discourses of the Saviour and into the narrative of the Evangelists these perpetual and brutal choppings (*hachures*), which disturb the mind as well as the eye, by imposing on the mind without necessity or benefit, this march constantly arrested and resumed, this abrupt and jerky gait; the intrinsic charm, the profound and peaceful charm of the Book of Life has been more and more destroyed, in order to facilitate the labour of the learned, of exegetists and preachers, for whom these translations into the vulgar tongue were not made."

M. Lasserre has, therefore, returned to the old and primitive arrangement. His Gospels have the appearance of an ordinary book to be read in the same manner, save that the Gospels are the most beautiful book in the whole world, and can be read from one end to the other without fatigue or difficulty.

I have just made the trial, M. Lasserre having himself brought me his book, and I can certify that I experienced great literary pleasure, besides the religious pleasure I derived from it. I did not fancy that the Gospel, thus deprived of the savour which Latin and Greek gave it, could be read with so much pleasure and so much ease, just as I could not have imagined M. Lasserre as a former artillery colonel, for it was the first time I saw him.

Now if the public take to reading this book, and I should be much astonished if it were not tempted to do so, it will see religion under quite a new light; it will be able to argue with some personal and direct knowledge of the subject, and a movement may arise, which will end in a religious renovation.

This idea of making of the Gospel a book in the vulgar tongue, but readable and comprehensible, attractive and interesting, which a man of the world, or a beginner, a woman of fashion, or a servant, may read, understand, enjoy and love without the help of any one, merely through the clearness and charm of the translation, is really an original idea.

Such a book can certainly present disadvantages; among others, that of introducing free inquiry with the aid of authentic documents; but free inquiry with the aid of authentic documents is better than free inquiry at haphazard, like that of our days. But it will have the great advantage of teaching again religion to the French, of interesting them by giving them direct knowledge of it, and of bringing back the faithful to a participation in the things of the Church.

Such must have been Mgr. Richard's opinion, who is prudence itself, when he gave his *imprimatur* to a book which, if only a faithful translation of the Gospel is none the less a book of great boldness, seeing it is destined to charm, to instruct, to attach, to associate the people to religion and to the Church, and that, though being the Gospel, the pure Gospel, it is nevertheless quite a new and unknown Gospel, a real revelation and revolution.—From the Paris Correspondent of the *Journal de Bruxelles*, December 4, 1886.

It is, indeed, a beautiful translation, and is so printed, that it reads like a novel. The notes are reasonable in extent and expression. Of course the text is taken from the Vulgate; the Council of Trent has made that a necessity for the Church of Rome. The price was four francs, and the circulation remarkable. Moreover, the Pope Leo XIII., in an Italian letter, printed with a French translation in the volume through the Secretary of State, Cardinal Jacobini, on December 4th, 1886, acknowledged receipt of the copies of the translation sent by the authors from time to time, applauded the object, which the translator had in view, sent his apostolic blessing, and his hope that these objects, which he states in his preface, may be attained.

Had the translator invoked the aid of the Holy Spirit, or dedicated his work to the glory of the Holy Trinity, he might have attained a blessing; but none reached him, for it was dedicated, in a blind and servile manner, to the holy and humble-minded Mother of our Lord, the most blessed among women, concerning whom there is no mention in the Gospels, that she was the Queen of Heaven, that she had the power to work miracles, or extend grace and favour to those, who, forgetting the second commandment, worshipped her image. Thus being from its first page entangled in the maze of a falsehood, the book and the author have fallen into trouble, and the eyes of those, whose faith is based on the Bible alone, have been open to certain peculiarities of the Romish Chrch.

And, as was to be expected in "a one-man" translation, there were manifest errors. I quote one (Matt. vi. 12): "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation."

Under what possible view can the original Greek of these words be rendered? "Faites-nous remise de nos dettes, comme nous mêmes nous faisons remise à ceux qui doivent. . . . Toutefois ne nous mettez pas à l'épreuve."

This means, without doubt: "I wish to be forgiven and be generous; all the same, do not put me to the test, for I know myself and my own frailty." This is a distortion of the Word of God, and justly condemned by all Christians.

By a decree of the Sacred Congregation, dated December 19th, 1887, a little more than one year after the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Paris, dated November 11th, 1886, Lasserre's translation was placed on the Index of forbidden books, denounced as a book of degraded doctrine, the circulation of which is forbidden under spiritual penalties. And Lasserre, being in connection with the Romish Church, withdrew it from circulation, after it had passed through twenty-five editions, and been approved of by a large number of Bishops, and some of the most important members of the secular press.

But the withdrawal of the book did not leave matters in the same position as that which they occupied before its publication. This was forcibly put by a writer in the *Contemporary Review* of May, 1888:

I. The Pope publicly approved of the book, and his letter is prefixed to all the copies. Can the Pope be placed on the Index?

II. The Pope was declared by the General Council to be infallible in the discharge of his *teaching* office. Is not the approving of a vernacular translation of the Gospels part and parcel of his *teaching*? What becomes of his infallibility?

III. Under the decree of the Council of Trent it rests with the Bishop of each diocese to approve of translations of the Bible. The Archbishop has given his official approbation after a sufficient examination by the priests of St. Sulpice, and it may be a question, whether he is not within his rights.

A side-light was let into the crooked councils of the Church of Rome, which is involved in a network of unholy intrigue. It has been proved beyond doubt, that the Scriptures are acceptable to the French nation, if the priests get over their fear of, and aversion to, the truth. The Bishops themselves have evidenced their appreciation of this work, which they must surely have read before they recorded their approbation.

The matter was not destined to rest there, for Richard Clarke, a Jesuit priest, of Farm Street, Berkeley Square, London, in 1889, published a sixpenny pamphlet at the Catholic Truth Society, 18, West Square, London, called "The Pope and the Bible, an Explanation of the Case of M. Lasserre, and of the Attitude of the Catholic Church to Popular Bible Reading." The Book is interesting, as written by an Englishman in the free atmosphere of

English literature. Moreover, he had to take account of the presence of many Protestant converts, who are familiar with the Bible from their childhood, and men like Cardinals Manning and Newman, who are masters of the subject. An Italian or Spaniard in a country long cursed with an ignorant priesthood, and a laity totally uneducated in spiritual things, would have expressed himself differently. It is important to note the attitude asserted by a London Jesuit-priest towards the Bible in the nineteenth century, and it must be recollected, that the practice in the different countries of the world, which practice is well known to those who are occupied in the work of Bible Societies, differs very much from the academic utterances of a priest, who knows possibly nothing beyond London.

He lays down distinctly, that Papal infallibility extends only to *dogmatic* decrees laid down for the whole Church in matters of faith and morals.

He remarks, that in itself the spread of the Word of God is an unmixed good, but the perversity of men may turn to their own destruction this, like every other good gift of God, and there may be times and places, where it is necessary to place restriction on the distribution of the Scriptures.

He then proceeds to utter words which are inexact, and which he cannot prove, *that heretics have mistranslated the Bible for their own purposes*, or taken the open Bible as the watchword of heresy; in such and other cases prudence will put restriction on the use of the treasure so fatally employed by men to their own destruction. In Protestant translations there are indeed errors, inaccuracies, faults of scholarship, but I doubt whether any instance can be produced of an *intentional* rendering of a Hebrew or Greek word for *theological*, and not philological considerations. The rendering of "la jeune femme deviendra enceinte" shows, how bold the translator is, reckless of the consequence, and deeming it cowardly to glide over a difficulty. Can we in good faith say the same of the Latin text, which has come down to us, sadly corrupted by the copyists, under the name of the Vulgate of St. Jerome?

He lays down the principle that, when once a book is placed on the Index, "the faithful" must not open the pages again without special permission, however much they may be attached to it, and although, as a matter of opinion, they do not agree in the condemnation, and do not think that the Congregation acted prudently or wisely in condemning it, and though they may in past years have derived solid good from the perusal of it. He must obey, and no doubt in the confessional he will have to state whether or no he has taken a peep at the contents of his old pocket companion. To such a miserable condition are even the educated and steady Catholics reduced in the nineteenth century!

Father Clarke tells us how the case stands betwixt his Church and the Bible. He maintains, that his Church is not opposed to the study of the Bible, but has a right to control the use of it. Under the Council of Trent no Bible is to be read in the vernacular, unless that translation receives ecclesiastical authorization, and have notes explanatory of difficult passages. As a fact, the Douay Bible is freely sold at a small price in Great Britain and Ireland. He admits that between the two extremes of exclusive and indiscriminate use, both of which are forbidden by his Church, there is a wide disputable ground, on which the opinion of the faithful differ.

(1) Is it desirable to put the Bible in the hands of *all* the faithful?

(2) Ought the young to be allowed to read it as they please?

(3) Ought children to be encouraged to study the historical books of the Old Testament?

(4) Should the prophetic books be generally used as books of devotion?

(5) What portion should be withheld?

(6) How far are priests to encourage the circulation of the Bible?

(7) Are there some portions, which it is their duty to place in the hands of the faithful?

(8) Is there any obligation to see that the young are acquainted with the Bible?

(9) Should abridged Bibles or extracts be prepared?

(10) Are the laity bound to read the Bible, to teach their children, and distribute it among the poor at home and abroad, among Christians and non-Christians?

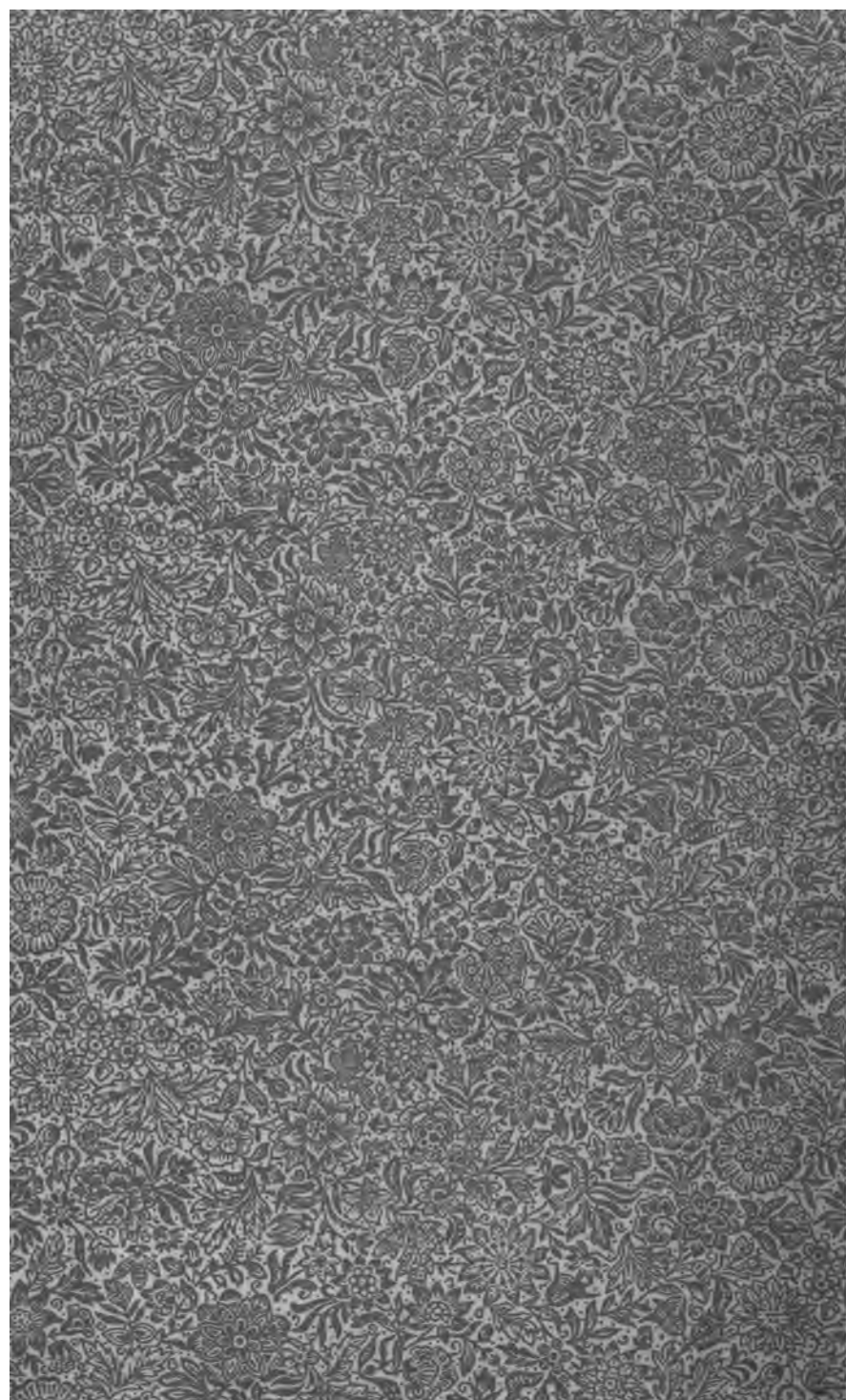
The pamphlet is not creditable to his honesty or his acumen. Casuistry, rightly called Jesuitical, unsupported assertions, unproved condemnations, unjustified abuse, dogmatism, an evident fear of inquiry, and the exposure, which would accompany it, are the features of his production. It may convince uneducated laymen and women, but his clear object is to uphold sacerdotal power in the nineteenth century, to prevent people forming their own judgment on the most important subject, the way of salvation, to keep men and women in leading-strings, to prevent access to the Word of God in the original Greek and Latin, and by copious abuse of all religious men outside the Church of Rome, to drive men and women, who cannot swallow the mediæval unscriptural composite, called the "Christianity of Rome," into blank atheism or abandonment of all religion. Such is the condition of a majority of the educated classes in France, Italy and Spain. The whole design of his book is to prop up a class, who are to stand betwixt the people and God, and be the only channels of divine truth.

If he indeed believes, and rightly believes, that the Bible

contains the Word of God, and that the Holy Spirit can bring home to the heart of humble readers the blessed truths contained in the Bible, what need is there to restrict the reading to the Psalms in the Old Testament and the Gospels in the New Testament? He admits that, as a rule, Roman Catholics are strangely ignorant of the Bible, and averse to reading it, and that, on the other hand, Protestants have an enviable familiarity with the text. He chooses to assume, that this familiarity is only with the text and not with the spirit, that "all is surface and the heart is not "touched." Here the Jesuit is like the ostrich in the desert, which shuts its eyes that it may not see the adversary. Otherwise he could not be ignorant, that the words of the Bible are to thousands and tens of thousands in this island as their very life-blood, the main-spring of their actions, the leading note of their thoughts, the hope on the sick and dying bed, when all things are very real, the delight of youth, the stay of manhood, and the solace of old age. It is the one thing which the British people, to whatever phase of religious thought they belong, will surrender life rather than be deprived of, stinted in the supply of, or controlled in the use of.

THE CHURCHMAN, MARCH, 1890.







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